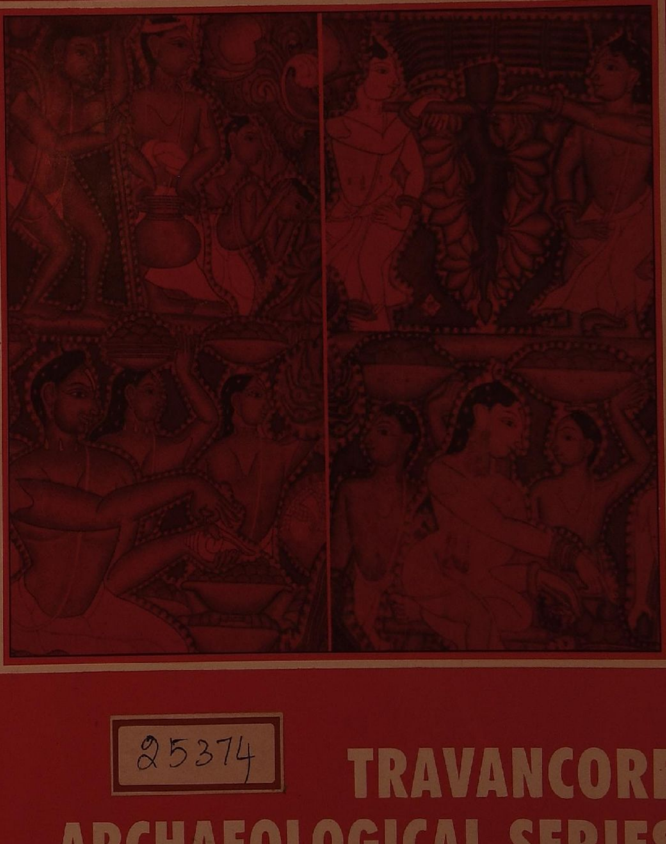

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Vol. V

Part I, II & III

A.S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL PUBLICATIONS

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We are thankful to everyone who has helped us in the publication of this book.

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Part I, II & III

Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore

By

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No. 1—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyur.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Quilon Dn.

"Besides the Śiva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however."

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast, but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archæological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarman I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Tirunāvukkaraiyar) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmuṇḍūr, Śiyamaṅgalam, Mahēndravāḍi[1] and Daḷāvanūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुममलोहमसुधं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्म्मापितन्नृपेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।[2]

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles '*Vichitrachitta*' (the original-minded) and '*Chitrakārapuli*' (*chaityakārapuli?* the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

1. Compare: कारितं गुणभरेन विदार्य्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 153.)
2. *Mahēndravarman Inscription*, page 2.

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar; and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *maṇḍapa* in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram[1] and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Bezwada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahēndra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan, show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar ungainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2′ in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions; *i. e.* they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *vishṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather uncouth proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar-chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above; but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some puranic theme Śaiva or Vaishṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahēndravarman's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *liṅga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

1. *Ibid*, page 6.

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

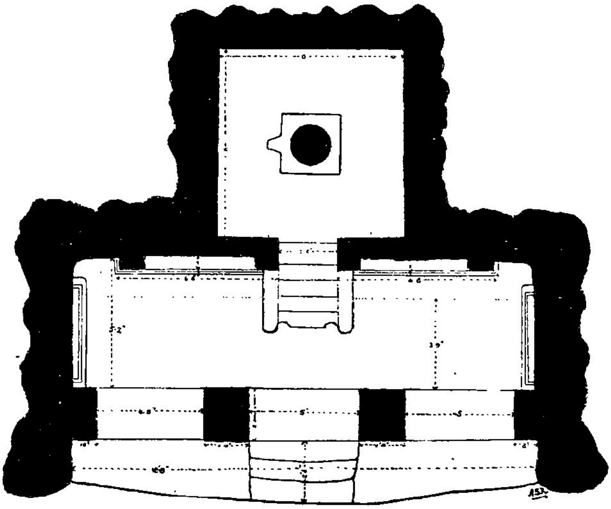


Fig. 1.

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15′ wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding cocoanut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah 2½′ wide, unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is 19′8″ broad and 8½′ high.

Two pillars 8′ 8″ in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each 5′ broad, while that on the proper right is

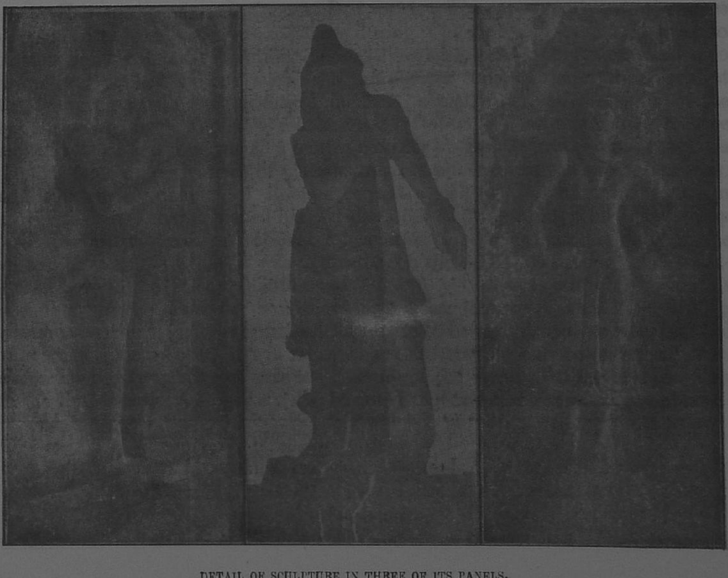
slightly smaller, being only 4′ 8″. The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1′ 7″ by 2′ 2″ and is 1′ 4″ in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1′ 10″ by 2′ 2″ and 2′ 10″ in height. The octagonal shaft is 3′ 3″ high and its facets vary from 7″ to 9″ in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2′ 3″ deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8″ in projection and the other nearly 10″.

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8′ each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *liṅga* whose crude *yōni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jambs and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19′ 8″ by 5′ and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6′ 5″ broad and 6′ 3″ high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11″ broad and 6′ 3″ high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahēndravarman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no *yajñōpavīta* and the ornaments that adorn him are the *karṇakuṇḍalā*, the *hrinmāla*, the *udarabandha*, the *bāhuvalaya*, and the *ūrusūtra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jaṭāmakuṭa*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his calling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Vishṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇēśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Arittapaṭṭi in the Mēlūr taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇēśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagṛiha*. As for the individual with the

VIEW OF THE ROCK CUT CAVE AT KAVIYUR.



DETAIL OF SCULPTURE IN THREE OF ITS PANELS.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *yajñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *giṇḍi*, the popular utensil in every Malayāḷi household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravivarman[1] of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr[2] itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kali 4051 and 4052, *i. e.*, A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *liṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas*; but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *liṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (*c.*630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,[3] and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple[4] at

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 33-49.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 288-89.
3. Kuram plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 152.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭila-Parāntaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nāmakkal in the Salem District within the old Chēra dominions and called the Adiyēndra-Vishṇugṛiha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigaimāṉ chief by about the end of the 8th century.[1] Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed[2] as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vaṭṭeḻuttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052.[3]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஶ்ரீ [||*] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அய்ம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-
வியூர் ஊரார் அவிரொதத்தால் மூக்கால்வட்டத்துக் கூடி கொயிலு
ழுள்ளிருக்க மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கெயவன் கிடங்குபறூலுள் தில-
தமங்கலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அஞ்பதின் கலமுங் கொடுத்தா-
ன் [।*] மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக்-
கொற்றக்கரி நூற்றுகலமும் ஈரை இளாகை ‘நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ
ன்றும் ஈரைக்கு [இளா]த்தூக்கு’[4] அவகளிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின்
கலமும் திருக்கவியூர்த் தெவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கும் அகத்து
பந்திரடிக்கு நாநாழியரி திருவமிர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாழியரி திருவக்கிர
மிரண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமியா லிருவரும்

2 அமைச்சார் [।*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-
க்கப் பெறூர் [।*] விலக்கு மூராளர் வெவ்வெற்று வகையால் பெரு-
மாள்க்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [।*] நாடுவா-
ழுமவர்க்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [।*] தா-
ணமும் பாடையும் மூராண்(ம்)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு மூழிக்களத்
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [।*] விலக்குமவகள்க் கனு-
பந்தம் பறையுமவகளும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவது [।*] ஊரா ரவிரொத-
த்தால்க் கூடியு மிச் செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-
றூர் [।*] ‘இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் கெயகாலத்து செலுத்தா
க்கால் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்’[5] [।*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில் மூத்தொரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்து பலம் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப்-

3 பிக்கக் கடவியர் [||*]

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1. *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906, p. 76.
2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201.
3. No. 1 of 1087 published in the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 288.
4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places.

No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.[1]

1. *ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கலியுகந் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்[து*] அம்பத்தொரா மா-ண்டு திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக[ர்*]க்கு மகிழஞ்சேரித் தேவன் செந்நன் திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருதுந் திருவக்கிரமுந் திருச்சந்நணமுந் திருப்பு-கையு மமச்சான் [||*] விளக்கினுக்கு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித் திருவமிர்தும் புகையரமண்ணிறூற் செல்விது [||*] தேவன் செந்ந மைச்ச காராளராற் செவித்திச்சு கொள்ளக்கடவியர் [||*]*

2. *ஊராள செந்நன்கரி திருவக்கிரத்தின்னு குடிகூறு சந்தனத்தின்னு புகை-க்கு சிறுபுனயில்தலை சாத்தன் கூறு அமைச்சான் [||*] மூழிக்களத்து கச்சத்தொடொக்கும் |—*

No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum.[2] It measures 10″ × 5″ exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4″ broad and 2·5″ high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētupatis, *viz.*, ശ്രീരാമനാഥസ്വാമിസഹായം (*Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmi-sahāyam*), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati (1647-72).[1] The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghunātha Sētupati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhadāsa Vañchi Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varāhan* of the village of Kākkūr. which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthaswāmin at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service

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1. No. 2 of 1087 published in the *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 289.
2. One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhaṭṭātiri of Veḷḷitturutti. It is in Malayalam characters and reads as follows:

   1 വെള്ളിത്തു-
   2 രുത്തി ഭട്ട-
   3 തിരി പണി-
   4 ചെയ്പ്പിച്ച
   5 തൂൺ ഇത [||*].

3. *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. VI, page 45.

(*kaṭṭaḷai*) to the god in his name. While this deed was drawn up, the Sētupati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Viraiyādagaṇḍaṉ* to the east of Kāttūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanallūr, a village in Togavūr-kūṟṟam. Kulōttuṅga-śōḷanallūr and Viraiyādagaṇḍaṉ were two of the many places which the Ramnad chiefs used as their headquarters. Of these the latter is in the Rājasiṅgamaṅgala-śēkharam in Śētu-nāḍu.[1]

We learn[2] that on the death of Śella-Tēvar *alias* Vijayaraghunātha-Śētupati in 1760 A. D. his nephew Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati, the infant son of Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār, who had been perhaps adopted[3] by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able Daḷavāy Dāmōdaram Piḷḷai.[4] The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph. Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No. 7 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high-sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later Vijayanagara grants. Some of these, however, such as *Tēvainagarādhipaṉ* (the lord of Tēvai-nagara) *Ravikulaśēkharan* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumakētanan* and *Garuḍakētanan* (the bearer of the Hanumān and Garuḍa flags) were also borne by his predecessors. This Sētupati has been called Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati Kāttadēvar in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttatēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar*. The Sētupatis held the subordinate position of vassals of the Madura Nāyakas who were themselves the Governors of the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire, such as it was at that time. The Nāyakas did not assume any independent royal titles, but were content with being called '*Karttākkaḷ*' (Skt. *kartā*=an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The Sētupatis, who were appointed by these Nāyakas as *Pāḷaiyakkārar* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselves as '*Karttākkaḷ*'. *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the Maravas.

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from Ponnusvami-Tevan's *Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *birudas* and their significance. The appointment of *Toṇḍiyinturai-kāvalaṉ* (the warden of the Toṇḍi[5] harbour) appears to have been conferred on Ativīra Raghunātha-Sētupati for his help against the Chōḷas, who had invaded the Pāṇḍya country; while the privileges of raising the Hanumān and the Garuḍa-banner seem to have been conceded by the Vijayanagara kings for

1. *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. II, p. 34
2. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 231.
3. *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sētupati-vamśōddhārakaraṇa*' in line 30 of the text.
4. The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Veḷvikkōvai*'.
5. Toṇḍi is a harbour to the east of Madura and to the north of Ramnad and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the Kuṭṭuvaṉ-toṇḍi (Kaḍaluṇḍi).

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētupatis won also the title of *'Chōḷamaṇḍala-pratishṭhāpanāchārya'* by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōḷas in the capacity of Pāṇḍya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title *'kaṇḍanāḍu-koṇḍu-koṇḍanāḍu-koḍādāṉ'* (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōḷas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Paṭṭukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet *'gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍaruḷiya'* (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *biruda* affected by Dēvarāya II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētupatis and with the installation of Śaḍayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram: and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētupatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles *'Sētumūlaraksha-dhurandhara'* and *'Rāmanāthasvāmikārya-dhurandhara'*. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets *Pāṇḍimaṇḍala-sthāpanācharya'* (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and *'tālikku-vēli'* (the fence round *i.e.*, protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētupati (1647-72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchuḷi and Paḷḷimaḍam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura[1] from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called *'Daḷasiṅgam'* and is the hero of the *Daḷasiṅgamālai* of Aḷagiyachiṟṟambala-Kavirāyar of Mithilaippaṭṭi. Another Raghunātha-Sētupati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kiḻavaṉ-Sētupati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of *'pararājakēsari'* or *'pakaimannarśiṅgam'* by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka; while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of *'tulukkardaḷa-vibhaṭaṉ'* and *'tulukkarmōham-tavirttāṉ'*. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this Muttu-Rāmalinga-Sētupati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētupati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மனுக்கோடி கரத்து மதுரையுங் காத்து வளருந்தெய்வத்
தனுக்கோடி காத்தவ னேரகு நாத தளசிங்கமே.—*Daḷasiṅgamālai* (*Sendamiḻ*, Vol. IV, p. 49).

King[1] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ (1758-98) who is the donor of the village of Kākkūr to the temple at Rāmēśvaram is a figure well-known in the history of Travancore as the *Dharmarāja*. It was during his long regime that the successive invasions of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan were effectively checked and a full account of his reign has been given on pages 369 *et. seq.* of the *Travancore State Manual*, Volume I, wherein he is called by the shorter name of Rāmavarman. On page 111 of Vol. IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* it has been stated on the authority of certain introductory verses in the *Bālarāmabharatam*, a work on the dancing art composed by the king himself, that the name of its royal author was[2] Bālarāmavarman; and this copper-plate record of Kollam 945 also names him as Śrī-Padmanābhadāsa Vañchi[1] Bālarāmavarma-Kulasēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja. As other records and works make mention of him by the name of Rāmavarman also, it seems probable that the king who was known as Bālarāmavarman during the period of his heir-apparentship and the first few years of his reign (Kollam 937)[3] gradually dropped off the youthful prefix of his name, and that the *'Bāla'* of this record has to be corrected into *pāla* and tagged on to Vañchi, leaving the king's name as simple Rāmavarman. The Dutch sale-deed[4] of Kollam 964 calls him only *Vañchi-Bālamārttāṇḍa-Rāmavarman*; the *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam*[5] and the *Vasulakshmīkalyāṇam* composed in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu (corresponding in all probability to Kollam 960) call him only by this shorter name; Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ) who must have composed his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam*[6] before his death in Kollam 963 when he was the *yuvarāja* refers to his uncle by the name of Rāmavarman only; and the Nawab's Cowlenamah[7] of A. D. 1766 (Kollam 942) names him only as the noble Rāma-Rāja, Zemindar of Malabar. It is therefore likely that the *Kiḻavanrāja* came to be known not as Bālarāmavarman but by the shorter name of Rāmavarman sometime about Kollam 942.

1. In the expression வஞ்ஜிபாலராமவர்ம்மகுலசேகரப்பெருமாள் occuring in *ll.* 32 and 50 of the record, it is possible to consider பால as a mistake for பால and take it along with வஞ்ஜி so as to mean 'the king or protector of (the town of) Vañchi as in the instances:

   बालमार्ताण्डवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपः, वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिः, वञ्चिभूपश्रीबालराम, श्रीमद्वञ्चिकुलाधिपो श्रीबालरामप्रभुः and श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपः;

   and take the king's name to be simply Rāmavarman in Kollam 945. In *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam*, however, the following expressions are used:

   वञ्चिबालश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपः, वञ्चिबालश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः etc.

2. *Vide* footoote above.

3. The Treaty of Cochin, *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 371.

4. *State Manual*, Vol., I. p. 390.

5. *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam* calls him indifferently by both the names and must have been composed early in the king's reign.

6. श्रीपद्मनाभदासवञ्चिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन सङ्गीतादिकलाभिज्ञेन रामवर्मनामधेयेन युवराजेन निबद्धमभिनवं रुक्मिणीपरिणयं नाम नाटकम् । He must be the prince referred to as 'भागिनेयस्वनामा' in the *Balarāmabharatam*.

7. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 379.

The first attribute namely Padmanābhadāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book[1] referred to above, *viz.*, that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāmavarman except in one instance[2] and has named his work as *Bālarāmabharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनेयः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāmavarman II (Aviṭṭam-Tirunāḷ) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvarāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāḷ in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāḷ of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.[3] This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāmavarman, although he may have discarded the prefix '*Bāla*' after his cornation, *tulābhāra* and *hiranyagarbha* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work[4] and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttāṇḍa Pillai Daḷavāy (Kollam 934-39).[5]

It may be noted that an *ōlai* document[6] in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vīra-Bālamārttaṇḍavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāmabharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāmavarman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repitition of the original dedication by Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāḷ) and nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959[7] and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1. तदनुजरविवर्मा भागिनेयः स्वनामा
   स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
   सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा
   मनुपतिकुलभूपे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥— *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 110.
2. श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपो
   विद्वत्प्रियो निखिलसूरिगणेभ्य आर्यः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 107.
3. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 333 and 385.
4. श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्स हिरण्यगर्भ-
   दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 108.
5. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 370.
6. *Vide infra.*
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.

his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above.

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevelly and now a station on the Quilon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāṇa* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāṇa*, there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,[1] and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary.

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnad

1. अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गमे ।
रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥
मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।
क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहर्योर्महात्मनोः ॥
अरण्यपत्तनग्रामसहितञ्च तदद्भुतम् ।
अनेकजनसंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rāma mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāmavarman (A. D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

किञ्चान्यत्तस्य माहात्म्यं शृणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।
श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चेरनृपस्य धीमतः ॥
एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभीयमेव तु ।
योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा प्रिये ॥
तस्य शास्तुर्वेलेनैव केरळेशोऽत्र भूभृत् ।
व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणान्निराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Rāmachērasamāgamah.*

district. They are Taṭātakai-nāḍu (perhaps named after goddess Mīnākshī, Taṭātakai-piṟāṭṭiyār), the sub-division in which Kākkūr was situated, Gadaiyaṉ-kaṇmāy, Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy, Karuśal-kuḷam, Pūnda-kuḷam, among the names of the tanks and Kumārakuruchchi and Mudukuḷattūr among the names of places. Tokavūr-kūṟṟam[1] is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the Kāna-nāḍu, which extended as far as Toṇḍi and Kāḷaiyārkōyil, was split up from olden days, while Kāna-nāḍu was again a district of Paṉṟi-nāḍu, the tract of land lying between the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kingdoms.

Text.[2]

First-side.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] ஸாலிவாஹந ஸகாப்த[ம்*] ௲௬௱௩௰௧ உதன்மெற் செ-
ல்லாநின்ற

2 கொல்லம் ௮௱௮௰௫ ஆண்டு விரொதிநாமஸம்வத்ஸரத்து ஐற்பசி ௴ ௨௰௩ உ
3 ஹாந-வாஸரத்து உத்திராடந(ெ)க்ஷத்திரத்து வ-ஒவ-உவக்ஷத்த- ஸ்வஸ்தியுஞ்
சூலந-
4 ாமயோகமு மாஜவா[3]கரணமும் பெற்ற ஸுபதிநத்தில் ஸ்ரீமஹாமண்டலெ-
5 ஸ்வரந் [4]தெவெநகராதிபந் ஸெதுமூலரக்ஷாதுரந்தரந் ஆரியராயிர்த-
6 ளவிபாடன் பாஷைக்குத்தப்புவராயிரகண்டன் கண்டநாடும் கொண்டு கொ-
7 ண்டநாடு கொடாதான் பாண்டிமண்டலஸ்தாபநாசாரியந் சொழம-
8 ண்டலப்ரதிஷ்டாபநாசாரியந் தொண்டமண்டலசண்டப்ரசண்டந் இளமுங்கொங்-
9 குயாழ்ப்பாணதெஸமும் எம்மண்டலமு[ம்*] [5]கஜவெட்டை கொண்டரு-
10 ளிய ராஜாதிராஜந் ராஜபரமெஸ்வரந் ராஜமார்த்தாண்டந் ராஜமஹீ-
11 ரந் [6]ராஜமூலதிலகந் இரவிகுலசெகரந் சொரிமுத்துவன்னியந்[7] அந்-
தம்-
12 பிறகண்டன்[8] சாடிக்காறர்கண்டந் ஸ்வாமிதுரொகியமிண்டன் துஷ்டரில்
துஷ்டந்
13 துஷ்டர்கொட்டமடக்கி இளஞ்சிங்கந் தளஞ்சிங்கம் பகைமன்னர்சிங்க
மாத்துப்-
14 பாச்சி கடலிற்பாச்சி மதப்புலியடைக்கலங்காத்தான் தாலிக்குவெலி [9]சத்-

1 வெற்றிவாழ்கின்ற திருமிழலைக்கூற்ற மிகுந்த முத்தூர்க்கூற்றம்
பத்தியான அரும்பூர்க்கூற்றம் பாரமான திருக்கானைக்கூற்றம்
முத்தமிழ்சேர் தொகவூர்க்கூற்றம் முதன்மையான கொடுமலூர்க்கூற்றம்
எத்திசையான இளையான்குடிக்கூற்றம் — *Sendamil*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.

2. Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3. The name of the *karaṇa* (astrological division of the day) is *Gara* (elephant) *karaṇa*.

4. Read தேவைநகராதிபந், the lord of Tēvai-nagaram *i. e.*, Rāmanāthapuram (according to the Dictionaries); but Tēvai has been correctly identified with Rāmēśvaram itself in a Tamil poem called the '*Tēvai-ulā*' of Palapaṭṭaḍai-Śokkanāthappulavar, verses 226 and 248.

5. Read எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டு கஜவெட்டை கண்டருளிய.

6. Read ராஜகுலதிலக.

7. வணங்காத தெவ்வைப் பொருமால் சொரிமுத்து வன்னியன் பொன்
னணங்காரு மார்பன் ரகுநாதன் — *Oruturaikkōvai*, verse 90.

8. கடந்தோய்மதகளிறன்னனந்தம்பரகண்டன் முத்து
வடந்தோய்தனத்தியர் வேள் ரகுநாதன் — *ibid*, v. 120.

9. Read ஸத்ராதிபதி.

15. இராஜியபரிமண்டலன் வன்னியராட்டந்தவிர்த்தான் தொண்டியந்துறை காவலன்
16 துரகரேவந்தன்[1] ஹநுமகேதனன் [2]கருடகேதனன் ஸிம்ஹகேதனன் கொண்டைக்கு
17 கர்ணன் பொறுமைக்கு தருமன் மல்லுக்கு பீமன் வில்லுக்கு விஜயன் பரிக்கு நகுலன் அ-

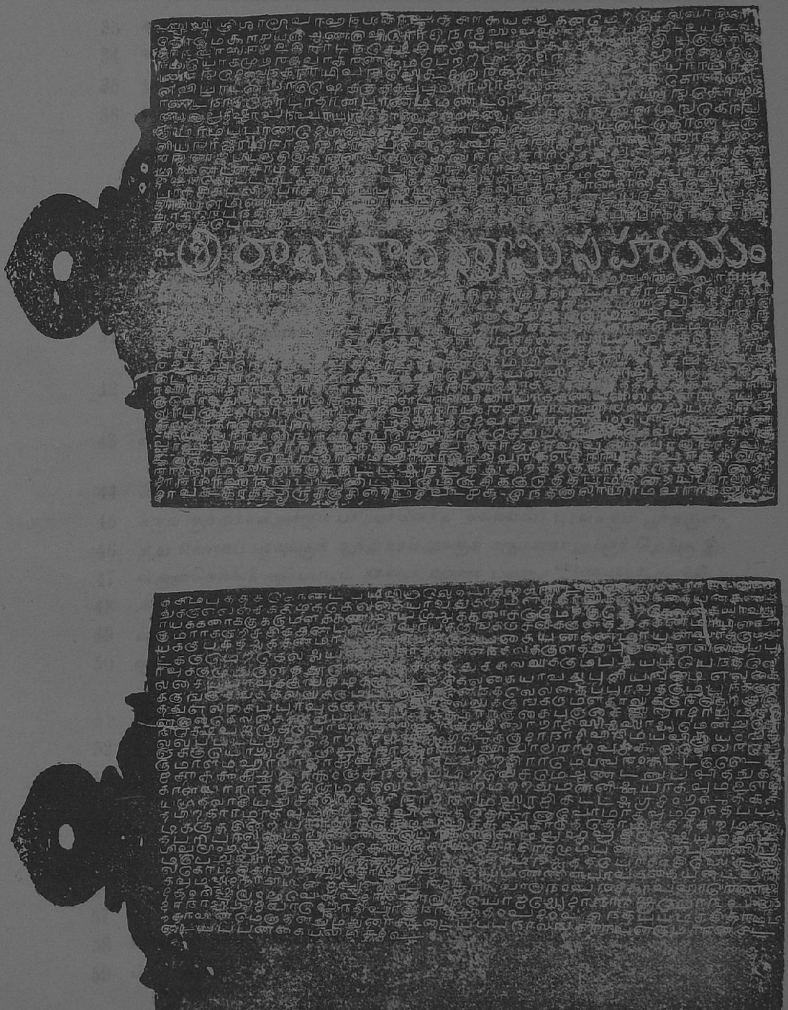
வ ஸ்ரீராமநாதஸ்வாமிஸஹாயம்[3]

18 றிவுக்கு அகத்தியன் ஸத்யஹரிச்சந்திரன் வீரவெண்பாமாலை உபயசாம-ர[ம்*] உல்லாசசல்-
19 லாபசங்கீதஸாஹித்யவித்யாவினோதன்[4] திலதநுதல்மடமாதர் மடலெழுதவ
20 ருளளவன் விஜயலக்ஷ்மீகாந்தன் ஸரசாவண்ணாரம் அடியார்வேளைக்காறன்
21 வீரதண்டைசேமத்தலை[5] விளங்கு இருதாளினன் துஷ்டநிக்ரஹ[6]ஜிஷ்டவரிபா-லநந
22 ந் துலுக்கர்தளவிபாடன் துலுக்கர்மோகந்தவிர்த்தான் ஒட்டியர்தள-
23 விபாடன் ஒட்டியர்மோகந்தவிர்த்தான் பரதளவிபாடன் மலைகலங்கினும-
24 னங்கலங்காதான் அன்னசத்திரஸோமன் ஸப்தகோடிதேவேந்த்ரு ஸிவபூ-ஜாபர-
25 யணரு அநேகப்ரஹ்மப்ரதிஷ்டாவகாரன் செம்பிவளநாடன் [7]செங்காவிக்கு-
26 டையு மதின்மேல் விருதுவெண்கவரிபெற்றவன் ஸகலஸாம்ராஜ்யலக்ஷ்மீ-நிவ-
27 ாஸ ராமநாதஸ்வாமிகார்யதுரந்தரரான [8]தொகவூர்க்கூத்தத்தில் காத்தூ-ரான
28 குலோத்துங்கசோழநல்லூ[ர்*] இன்பால் விரையாதகண்டனில் விளங்-கிய து-
29 லாபுருஷதாநாதிஷோடசமஹாதாநதுரந்தரரான ஹிரண்யகர்ப்பயாஜி ரவி-
30 குலசேகர ரகுநாதச்சேதுபதி காத்ததேவரவர்கள் வம்சோத்தாரகரான
31 -ரா- முத்துராமலிங்க விஜயரகுநாதச்சேதுபதி காத்ததேவரவர்கள் தர-
32 மபரிபாலநம்ப[ண்*]ணாந ஸுதினத்தில் ஸ்ரீவத்ஸகோத்ரானு வஞ்சிவாழு ராமலிங்-

1. Rēvanta, the son of Sūrya and Baḍavāgni, was born riding on a white horse vide., तृतीयश्च रेवन्तोऽश्वप्रवाहकः

रेतसोऽन्ते च रेवन्तः खड्गी धन्वी तनुत्रधृक् ।
अश्वारूढः समुत्पन्नो बाणतूणी समान्वतः ॥

2. 'கருடவெங் கேதனத்தனவாய் ரகுநாயகன்' — *Oruturaikkōvai*, verse 39.
3. The sign-manual of the Ramnad chiefs is engraved in Telugu in the middle of the plate, as Telugu was adopted as the court-language by Vijayaraghunātha-Tirumalai-Sētupati — *Sen-damil*, Vol: VI, p. 45.
4. Read ஸாஹித்ய.
5. சேமத்தலை was the name of the anklet worn by Ramnad chiefs.
6. Read ஸிஷ்டபரிபாலநு.
7. A parasol dyed in red ochre was the state umbrella of Sētupatis, காவிச்செழுங்குடையான் ரகுநாயகன் and செங்காவியங்குடையான் ரகுநாதன் — *Oruturaikkōvai*.
8. குலங்கைக் கொண்ட வீரமோசா தான்முடி சூடி and ஆரியர் போற்று வீரமேசர் தானின்றைக் க-ன்புவைத்த.........ரகுநாதன் — *ibid*, verses 2 and 69.



Scale: One-half.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

33 காருண்யசேவரெ்ராளா் மஹாராஜா அவர்கள் இராமீசுவரத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-

34 ராமநாதஸ்வாமிக்குக் கட்டளை நடத்துகிறதற்கு காக்கூருக்கு கிறைய-

35 ஸாதநமாவநப்பட்டையமெழுதிக் குடுத்தபடி கிறையஸாவந-

36 மாவது [।*] காக்கூருக்கு கிறையிறுமட சதூ— இந்த ஒலாயிரம் வராகனும் ஒரா-

Second side.

37 க்கம் பத்திக்கொண்டபடியினாலெ தடாதகைநாட்டில்க் காக்கூர்க் கிறாமத்-

38 துக்கு எல்கைக் கிழக்கெல்கையாவது கருமளக்காலுக்குங் கதையன்கண்ம-

39 ாய்க் கரைக்கு[ம்*] கருமளக்கண்மாய் மூலைக்கரைக்கு[[ம்*] மெற்கு தெற்- கெல்கையாவது

40 குமாரக்குறிச்சிக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்குங் கருசல்க்குளத்துக்கண்மா யுள்வா-

41 ய்க்கு[ம்*] பத்தலைக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்கும் பகையன்கண்மா யுள்வா[ய்*]- க்கும் வ-

42 டக்கு மெற்கெல்லையாவது காத்தான் எந்தல்க்குளத்து புஞ்சை எல்- கைப் பு-

43 ரவுக்கு[ம்*] முதுகுளத்தூ ரெல்கைக் குத்துககல்லுக்கும் பனையடி யெந்த- லெ-

44 ல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் கிழக்கு வடக்கெல்லையாவது புளியங்முடி எல்கை-

45 க்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பாடுவானெந்த லெல்கைப் புரவுக்கும் பூந்தகுள-

46 த்து எல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்குங் கருமளகாலுக்குங் தெற்கு இ-

47 ன்னான்கெல்லைக் குள்பட்ட காக்கூர் நஞ்சை புஞ்சை ஸ்வாம்யாதாயும் நிதி-

48 நிக்ஷெபஜலதருபாஷாணவிமுக்த அக்ஷிணீஆகாமிஸித்தஸாத்யமென்று சொ-

49 ல்லப்பட்ட அஷ்டபோகதேஜஸ்வாம்யமுமடக்கு தாநாதிவிநியவிக்ரயமங்க-

50 ளுக்கு யொக்யமாக ஸ்ரீவத்ஸநாதஸ்வாமி வஹ்நி வாயுராமஸ்வ காருணியசெவ- வ-

51 ருமாள் மஹாராஜாஅவர்கள் நடத்துகிற இராமெஸ்வரம் கட்டளைத் த-

52 ர்த்தக்கா குஅரு ராக்ஷ(ஂ)ஞ் சந்ததிப்பிறவெசமெ ஆண்டனுபவித்துக் கொ-

53 காள்வாராகவும் [।*] கிறமத்தில் வரியிறை மற்றதும் [3]மன்னிலையாகவும் ஊழி-

54 ய முதலாகியது சகலமும் ஸ்ரீராமநாதஸ்வாமி கட்டளை [4]ஸ்ருமஙகளுக்குகத்[illegible]

55 த பிறகாரமாகவும் நடத்திவிச்சுக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்[illegible]

56 டிக்குக் கிறையசாஸந[ஞ்*] செய்துவிச்சுக் கொடுத்தொ மிந்தத்தற்மத்[illegible]-

57 த பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின பெர்கள் கொடிஅஸ்வமெதியும் கொடி-

58 ஶிவலிங்கப்ரதிஷ்டையும் கொடிகொடி கொதாநமும் பண்ணின புண்ணிய-

59 ம் பெறுவாராகவும் [।*] இந்த தற்மத்துக்கு அகிதம் நினைத்தபெர் காசி- ஸெதுவி-

60 ல் கொடி கொஹ(ஹ)த்தியும் கொடி ப்ரஹ்மஹத்தியும் பண்ணின பாவத் தை யடைவரா-

3. Read மன்னிறை°.

4. Read ஸ்ருமங்களுக்கொத்த°

61 கவும் [1*] ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீமாந[1] ஸகாப்தம் ஸகஸ்ரநவாமுநம் ஸகஸ்ரவ-ஸாமென ஸ்வ.

62 உத்தம் நிஷ்டம் ஹவெக உ ஜாநவாமுநயொ-ஜெஷ்டு[2] ஜாநாஜெ[3]யொந-வாமுநம்

63 [4]ஜாநாஸ்வஜவாவெூாதி வாமுகாஷூதம் வஷம் உ இந்தப்படிக்குத் தாம்பி-

64 றசாஸன மெழுதினது மதுரை சட்டையப்ப நாலங்காரயன் குமாரன் சட்-

65 டையப்பன் கைய்லிகிதம் உ

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 23rd (day) of Aṟpaśi in the year Virōdhi corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 945 (which was) current after the Śaka year 1691 had expired, and which was a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight with nakshatra Uttirāḍam, śūlanāma-yōgam and garaja-karaṇam, śrī-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran, the lord of the city of Tēvai, the guardian of the Sētu, the destroyer of the armies of enemy kings (or Āryas), the punisher of those kings who transgress his words, he who seizes the countries seen but never lets go the captured territories, the establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the establisher of the Chōḷa dominions, the all-powerful in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, the (conqueror) of Īḻam, Koṅgu, Yāḻppāṇam and all (other) kingdoms, (he) who instituted the elephant hunt, the chief of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the sun among kings, the noblest among kings, the ornament of the race of kings, the crest-jewel of the solar race, the *vaṉṉiya* of abundant pearls,.................. the destroyer of tale-bearers, the punisher of rebels of *svāmi* (his Pāṇḍya master), the wicked among wicked men, the curber of the mischief of wicked men, the lion-cub,[6] the lion of the army, the lion to enemy kings, he who pushed (his army) on rivers and on the sea, he who gave asylum to the ferocious tiger, the protector of the (Queen's) marriage-badge, the punisher of parasolled kings, the stopper of the swagger of the *vanniyas*, the warden of the Toṇḍi-harbour, a Rēvanta in horsemanship, the monkey-bannered, the Garuḍa-bannered, the lion-bannered, a Karṇa in charity, a Dharma in patience (forgiveness), a Bhīma in wrestling, a Vijaya[7] (Arjuna) in archery, a Nakula in horse-craft, an Agastya in erudition, a Hariśchandra in truthfulness, the possessor of a heroic panegyric[8] and a brace of fly-whisks, an adept in the arts of pleasant talk, music and composition, he of the lovely face about whom artless maidens with vermilion-marked foreheads desire to compose (the work

1. Read ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீமாந. 2. Read °யொஜ்யெஷ்டு.
3. Read °ஜாநாஜெ யொ. 4. Read ஜாநா ஸ்வ தஜ.
5. Read °ஷஅஸூதம்.
6. வெகுண்டெழுந்த நல்லிளங்கேசரி தேவையர்கோன் ரகுநாதன்—*Oruturaikkōvai*, v. 31.
7. அடைக்கலங்காத்தவன் செஞ்சிலைக்கேவிஜயன் ரகுநாயகன்—*ibid.*, v. 92.
8. *Vīraveṇbāmālaiyaṉ* was also the title of the Pāṇḍya king Ativīrarāma of A. D. 1562 (*Trav Archl. Series*, Vol. I. p. 274.

called)[1] *maḍal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvaṇas of (enemy) kings, a *vēḷaikkāraṉ*[2] to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *śēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oḍḍiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōḷa dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *virudu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Hiraṇyagabhayāji Raghunātha-Sētupati Karttadēvaravargaḷ, who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tulāpurushadāna, the crest-jewel of the Solar race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Viraiyādagaṇḍan in the eastern portion of Kākkūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-nallur (a village) in Togavūr-kūṟṟam — Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati Karttadēvaravārgaḷ—gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhadāsa Vañchi[3] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja of the *ādhīnam* of Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kaṭṭaḷai*) to god Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmēśvaram.

As 4000 *varāhaṉ*, (in words) four thousand *varāhaṉ*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Taṭātakai-nāḍu are:—

the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumaḷakkāl, the bund of Gadaiyan-kaṇmāy, and the corner bund of Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy;

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkurichchi-kaṇmāy, Karuśalkuḷa-kaṇmāy, Pattalai-kaṇmāy and Pagaiyaṉ-kaṇmay;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttāṉ-ēndalkuḷam, the boundary stone of Mudukuḷattūr, and the boundary land of Paṉaiyaḍi-yēndal; and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puḷiyaṅguḍi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Pāḍuvān-ēndal, the boundary of Pūndakkuḷam and its set-up stone and the Karumaḷakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshiṇī* and *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhadāsa Vañchi[3] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession.

1. A variety of composition, *vide*.,

—மன்னு
விடவண்ணக்கண்டத்துவேதியன்மேவிட்ட
மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுதின்கண்— *Tirukkailāya jñāna-ulā.*

Pannirupāṭṭiyal defines *Maḍal* in verses 244 to 247; Tirumaṅgai-āḷvār is the author of similar compositions called the *Periyatirumaḍal* and the *Śiṟiyatirumaḍal*.

Maḍalūrdal is the crowing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party-*viz*., that of riding on a horse made of palmyra pricks!

2. On *Vēḷaikkārar* and their significance, *vide*.,

3 See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara..

The taxes leviable from this village shall be (paid by tenants as) *maṇṇiṟai*, and labour and other items shall be supplied according to the requirements of the Rāmanāthasvāmi-service.

Thus did we prepare and give the sale-deed.

Those that protect this charity shall obtain the merit of having set up a crore of brahmans and a crore of Śiva-liṅgas, and of having performed many crores of Gōdānas. Those that think evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed a crore of brahmans and a crore of cows in Kāśi (Benares) and Sētu (Rāmēśvaram).

The protection of another's charity is twofold more meritorious than one's own charity; by damaging another's charity, one's own gifts become fruitless. Between (the two things) gift and its protection, the latter is more felicitous than the former; by gift one attains Svarga whereas by fostering (another's charity) one reaches the abode of Achyuta (*i. e.*, Vaikuṇṭham).

In this manner was this copper-plate engraved in the writing of Śaṭṭaiyappaṉ, the son of Śaṭṭaiyappa-Nālaṅgarāyaṉ of Madurai.

No. 5—Ramavarmayasobhushanam and Vasulakshmikalyanam.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled the *Rāmavarma-yaśōbhūshaṇam*, which on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāparudrīya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes, classified under the same nine chapters, Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Dōsha, Guṇa, Śabdālaṅkāra, Arthālaṅkāra and Miśrālaṅkāra *prakāraṇas*, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara Vañchipāla.[1] The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadāśiva-makhin,[2] son of Chokkanāthādhvarin;[3] but further details

1. Similar works composed by other poets in praise of their respective patrons are *Nañjarājayaśōbhūshaṇam* of Narasimhakavi, *Alaṅkāra-mañjusha*, and *Śaṭavairivaṃśabhava-divākaram* in Sanskrit and *Māraṉ alaṅkāram* of Tirukkurukaipperumāḷ-Kavirāyar in praise of Nammāḻvār.

2. चोक्कनाथाध्वरिसुतस्सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।
सदाशिवमखी सोऽयं प्रबन्धा भावुकाग्रणीः ॥
सेयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिबन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्सरसभावनिरूपणोक्ता ।
कान्तं समिच्छति वधूरिव वञ्चिबा(पा)लश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमम् ॥

3. We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanātha at the end of the 17th century; *viz.*,
(i) the author of *Sēvantikāpariṇayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshitīndra, in his drama;
(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* of Vāsudēva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sudarśana-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and a native of Śattanūr; and
(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dīkshita (1693).
Of these No. i refers to Nīlakaṇṭha-Makhin and was the author of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri (1697-1714) and a chief

about his pedigree are not available here except that in a drama of his named *Lakshmīkalyāṇam*[1] his *gōtra* is known to be Bhāradvāja and mother's name to be Mīnākshī. Unlike the *Pratāparudrīya* which has furnished many interesting tit bits of historical information about its Kākatīya hero that have a since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarman' is a composition of purely literary merit; for the author evidently an East-Coast brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his penegyrical verses, but has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions; and the criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct is hardly undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mārttāṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara-Vañchipāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 933 (A. D. 1758) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 973 (A. D. 1798), is understood from a verse[2] which records

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named Basavarājēndra (c. 1700 A. D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. X. p. 257); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra to identify him with Sadāśiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gōtra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Śrāvaṇa), Rēvati, Monday, *ba.* tritīya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāśiva's father. Sadāśiva must have composed his *Yaśobhūshaṇam* in the early part of his patron's reign.

1 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्कनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षिगर्भ-
शुक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतिः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

2. सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधेः ।
गतेऽस्तं मार्त्तण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः
कलासिन्धू राजा ह्युदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

A few other verses referring to the king are:

(*a*) तत्तादृगद्भुतचरित्रपवित्रितासु
प्राचां कृतिष्वपि सतीषु मितंपचोक्तिः ।
वाञ्चापलात्सुगुणसागरवाञ्चिबा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपमीडे ॥

(*b*) लक्ष्मी वृणोतु यदपाङ्गविलासपात्रं
यच्छस्तलक्ष्यकुलमाश्रितोऽप्सरोभिः ।
श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिबा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरराट् सजीयात् ॥

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārttāṇḍa (the king: the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāmavarman: the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram: the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāmavarman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī;[1] and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunāḍ family who was adopted by Uṇṇi-Kēraḷavarman in Kollam 893[2] (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmī and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Ranis of Travancore. Rāmavarman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *sagarbhyāḥ*[3] and are cited as types of *Dhīralalita* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one Ravivarman,[4] who was present at the time of Rāmavarman's dedication of the State to god Padmanābha. The munificience[5] and charitable disposition,

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(c) सन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्समृद्धाः
आचन्द्रतारमवनौ जयतु क्षितीन्द्रः ।
श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

1. (a) पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेनजगतां क्षेमाय सद्वृद्धये
दुष्टानामिह शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः ।
भूत्वा वञ्चिधराधिपः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुब्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मानृपः ॥

(b) पार्वतीनन्दनस्सोयं वञ्चीन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।
शक्त्या विनिहितामित्रः सुब्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥

(c) योयं मुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्भशुक्तितः ।
सद्वृत्तो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सोयं विराजते ॥

2. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 324.

3. सौधाग्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कबिम्बोदय-
व्यागक्षिप्तेन्द्रभयप्रदानचतुरस्वीयास्यचन्द्रोदयैः ।
गायद्भिर्निजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सत्कारसगर्भ्यान्नृपा
वञ्चिक्षोणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

4. तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयस्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्वा
मनुपतिकुलभूपे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥—*Bālarāmabharatam* (*T. A. S.* IV. 110).

5. विद्वद्व्रजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्त्वै-
[illegible]: कनकशृङ्खलिकानुबन्धान् ।
कृत्वावसि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिवा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौम ॥

prowess,[1] literary accomplishments[2] and other incomparable[3] qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharma-rāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*[4] and in the *Archæological Series,* Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* or the third chapter of the book is as follows:—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhaḷa, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

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1. त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराब्धिराका शशी
   प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नीराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
   दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलद्यशोमण्डलः
   राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥

2. यदृच्छासल्लापैस्समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवै-
   श्चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
   कवीन्धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
   परिष्कुर्वन्वाञ्चिक्षितिपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥

3. स एव देवो भुवनेब्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्घैः ।
   सानन्दपुर्येव पुरी स वञ्चिक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥

4. *Trav. State Manual,* Vol. I, p. 407 *et. seq.*

In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-tirunāḷ) in his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam* is worth noting.

अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचक्रन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातबद्धचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राजमानवाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधितेरिवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव भृशमहितापदानवतः कार्तिकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशङ्कटभुजविटपिविहरमाणविश्वंभराशारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणधिषणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलात्ययविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलादिगन्तश्रूयमाणगुरुगुणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः **श्रीपद्मनाभदासवाञ्चिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणो** भागिनेयेन रामवर्मनामधेयेन etc.

the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardurgapāla*) Vasumadrājā, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumatī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhurāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmavarman with Vasulakshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her ship-wreck on the Travancore shores *enroute* Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Simhaḷa and Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household[3] of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nītisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrāja, his sister is a Vasumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulākshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*vasu*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests[1] and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindh or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindh and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.[2]

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 *et. seq.*
2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*.
3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts.

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore[1] and its author who is quite different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Yaśōbhūshaṇam*, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇyādhvarin[2] of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1553-1626) of Aḍaiyyappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details; but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārvabhauma*[3] through the augmented

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1 तदामुष्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराज**रामवर्मकुलशेखर**चरितानुबन्धो कुतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

2 अप्पय्याध्वरिसुतेष्व(षु)चरम श्री [नील*]कण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयस्सिंहमप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैराबभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसूनुः कविः ॥
विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिनां वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।
वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्वन्मणिर्यतोऽभ्युदभूत् ॥
इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभववित्रासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाजपेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows:

Appayya-Dikshita of Aḍaiyappalam.
- Other sons.
- Śrikaṇṭhādhvarin (last son).
  - 1
  - 2
  - 3 Simhamappādhvarin (Chinnappādhvarin?)
    - Bhavāniśaṅkara-Makhin.
      - Veṅkaṭēśvara-Makhin. (eldest-son).
        - Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇyādhvarin (Author of *Vasulakshmikalyāṇam*)
        - Vaṭāraṇyēśvara-Vājapēyayājin.
  - (more than 7 sons).

The two names Śrikaṇṭha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript, for another copy of the same work available at Karatholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nilakaṇṭha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama:—

अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेरंशभूताः **नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्याध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित** प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि **नळचरितोमापरिणयोषाहरणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्द**प्रभृतिरपरिमितैर्नाटकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमादेव etc.

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वयं ।
निश्चैषीद्विवोढुस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

friendship of the Hūṇarāja, (the Hon'ble East India Company?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,[1] just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero. all the other important characters of the drama are give fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word *'vasu'*, as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara-minister, *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*- consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvarman*- Chēra prince, *Vasunidhi*-Sindhurāja, *Vasurāśi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*— Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows: —

The minister Buddhisāgara who has seen the portrait of Vasulakshmī, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūṇarāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūṇa fleet, and Vasumān, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of Vasumati who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince Vasuvarman and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the countermachinations of the king and his Vidūshaka who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, Vasumatī is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of Vasulakshmī with her own husband and the Sindhu prince Vasurāśi, instructed by Buddhisāgara comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūṇarāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūṇarāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described[2] as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमानूपवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः हूणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुलीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,[1] it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rāmavarman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurāja is mentioned as the friend of Rāmavarman's uncle,[2] Mārttāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kachcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viliñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmī.[3] Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister: while Vasumān, the *Vēladurgapāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on Śabdālaṅkāra in the *Rāmavarma-yaśōbhūshaṇam* have been given under the section of Chitrālaṅkāra a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhas*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *ashṭadaḷapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 372

2. अस्मन्मातुलबालमित्रमसकृत्कर्णान्तरश्रीकृतः
    योधीती धनुरागमेषु सहृतैः तुल्यश्च बाहोर्बले ।
सिन्धोरुत्तरकच्छभूमिमवशीकृत्य हिमाद्रेः क्षितिं
    रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो वसुनिधिः ख्यातप्रभावः क्षितौ ॥

3. A modern work in prose on [illegible] states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz., Kāḷiammai-Nāgamaṇi of Nagercoil and three others from Vadaśśeri, Arumana and Tiruvaṭṭāṟu *ammaridus*.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Pratāparudrīya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged, The Śaṅgam edition of *Māṟaṉalaṅkāram* also gives the correct diagram of a *shaḍārachakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

No. 6.—Marttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*ediriḍa*), its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppaḍi-dānam*,[1] wherein king Mārttāṇḍavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhaṇḍārakkāriyam-śeyvār*). That this *coup-d'-etat* was calculated to safeguard the solidarity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvaḍi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Vēṇāḍu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttāṇḍavarman's successor Rāmavarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here *viz*., the fort of Tōvāḷa on the east and Kāvaṇāṟu in the west,; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttāṇḍa, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

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1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, 362: Compare

പത്മനാഭനു ഇഷ്ടമായി ധനഞ്ജയൻ ധരണീശനും
പത്മനാഭപ്രാധ്യമാകിന സത്തമാഗ്രു ചമച്ചുടന്
*　　*　　*　　*　　*
സകലഹാരി പലഷടിതപ്പെട്ടതിവഞ്ചിഭൂമിപുരന്ദരന്

from *Pañchendrōpākhyanam* of Kuñjan-Nambiyār,

and
എന്നാളും ചന്ദ്രൻ ധരണീഭൃന്മൌലി
കന്നിച്ചിട്ടും കേതിയോടമ്പത്തിൽ
ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ പാദാംബുജത്തിൽ
തന്ന്യാ സമർപ്പിച്ചിത് താൻ ന നല്ലു...

ഭൂപപ്രവീരൻ കുലദൈവമാകും
ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ നടയ്ക്കലായി
സർവ്വസാമന്തത്തിന ലക്ഷ്യമായ-
ഗ്ഗർവ്വം കെടുത്തിട്ടുടവാളു വെച്ചു.

from a modern poem *Mārtāṇḍadēvōdayam*

southern Kērala was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyaṅguḷam and Koṭṭārakkara, Ambalappuḻa and the chieftaincies of Tekkuṅkūr and Vaḍakkuṅkūr.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 உ ஸ்ரீராம[2]செயம் [॥*]
2 திர்ப்பாப்பூர் கீழப்பெரூர் ஸ்ரீ வீரவால[3]மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூத்த திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திங்கல்ந் நிந்நும் கல்ப்பிச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவசூவார்ப்பண[4] ஓலக்கு எழுதின எதிரட [॥*]
3 ௯௱௨௰௫ ௵ தை௴ ௫உ
4 விர்ச்சிக சனி மீனவியாழம் செந்ந கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்து இருபத்தஞ்சாமாண்ட மகரமாதம் ௫உ புதனுக்ஷயும் பூர்வபக்ஷத்து சத்தமியும் இந்நாளால் எழுதிய சறுவசூவார்ப்பண ஓலக்கரணமாவிது [।*]
5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரக்காரியம் செயிவாரகளாய வாலமாத்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்நும் தங்கள்க்கு ஒள்ள தோவாளகொட்டைக்கு படிஞாறு கவணாற்றினு கிழக்கொள்ள
6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்து ஒள்ளது நாளதுவரெ நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு அனுபவிச்சு வருந்ந வத்து சித்தியங்களும் தானமானங்களும் எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்
7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சறுவசூவார்ப்பணமாக ஆசெந்திறுக்கமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார் [॥*]

Second side.

8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரக்காரியம் செப்வார்களாய வாலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில நிந்நும்
9 இம்மார்க்கமெ இ சறுவசூவார்ப்பண ஓல வகை யெழுதிய மெலெழுத்தாக்கனைக்கு சங்கரகுமார[ப*]ட்டன் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpaṇa-ōla* (document) relating to the dedication of the kingdom to the *śrībhaṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by śrī-Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūtta-tiruvaḍi of (the) Tiruppāppūr(-*svarūpam*) and (the) Kīḻappērūr(-*illam*), from his palace.

Kollam 925, Tai 5.

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpaṇam*) which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

1. Registered as No. 13 of the *Trav. Epig. Colln.* for 1098 M. E.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The symbol ௵— does duty for the word மார்த்தாண்ட.
4. The correct form is ஸர்வஸ்வார்ப்பண.
सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very meritorious kind of gift. सर्वस्वदानं is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the daughter of the house whom he marries.
5. Expressed by a symbol.

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vriśchika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with saptamī-*tithi* of the first fortnight:

Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhaṇḍāra*) treasury of Perumāḷ (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvāḷakōṭṭa and to the east of Kāvaṇāṟu which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him.

This is the signature of the *mēleḻuttu* (head-accountant), Saṅkara-Kumāra-bhaṭṭaṉ who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpaṇa* transaction of Bālamārt-tāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu, who was the head of the Government.

No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Chēramaṅgalam, a small village in the Eraniel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, the first Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy who was appointed by Rājēndrachōḷa I for the administration of his Pāṇḍya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilaṭṭi, brother of Kaḷaṉi-Veṇṇi of Śaṅkarappāḍi who figures as a donor to the Vishṇu temple at Suchīndram in a record[1] of the 9th year of the same viceroy, where his full name is given as Kaḷaṉi-Veṇṇi *alias* Madhurāntakap-pēraraiyaṉ. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōṭṭāṟu and his brother, the donor in the Chēramaṅgalam record, was employed as an *oṟṟaichēvakaṉ* in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's army from the Chōḷa dominions, because Mayilaṭṭi is a name which is often met with in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Oṟṟaich-chēvakar* as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[2] and Vīra-Pāṇḍya,[3] and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work (*oṟṟu*=espionage and *oṟṟaṉ*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *oṟṟuchchēvakaṉ* or *oṟṟachchēvakaṉ*. *Oṟṟai* means 'single' and *oṟṟaichchēvakar* were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions[4] copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōḷa garrison:

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 135.
2. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 158.
3. *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 73.
4. *ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 132, 135, 137.

namely, *Sēṉāpati* Malayappichōḻaṉ, *Paḍaittalaivar* Kāvāṇai-Karuvūr and *Daṇḍanāyakaṉ* Vēḷāṉ-Śōḻakēraḷaṉ. *Teṉ*-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār the god of the Vishṇu temple of Chēramaṅgalam and *Teṉ*-Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyār installed within the big temple at Suchindrum, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvēṅgaḍam (Tirupati) in the Madras Presidency.

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas*: *e. g.*, Rājarājaṉ(*-maṇḍapa*), Ariyeṉṉavallāṉ(*-pandal*), Vīravallāḷaṉ(*-simhāsana*), Kulaśēkharaṉ(*-paḍi*), Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ (palace), Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyar(*-poṅgal*), Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṉ(*-śandi*), Rājakēsari*kkāl* (a measure), Śērāntaka (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalaṭṭi was named Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvakaṉ, after the donor's profession.

The second epigraph records that a certain Iṟaiyāṉ-Achchaṉ gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kaḷañju* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Maṉṟu-māṟipōkil* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *maṉṟu* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *maṉṟāḍi* therefore refers to a member of the *maṉṟu*, i. e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly[1]. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *mannāḍiyār* has however been derived from *maṉ*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners.

Mudukuḍi—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravar*) called the Muduvar[2]; but it does not seem probable that Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakuḍi*[3] occurs in the Kēraḷapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the fourth in Tamil, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No. C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *giṇḍi* for use in the temple, while No. F states that the village of Chēramaṅgalam was a *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.

A

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெ
வர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி
தெவவ்ள[நா*]ட்டு புறங்-

1. பழையமன்றாடிபோலுமிவனென்று பண்பின்மிக்க—*Periyapurāṇam.*
2. *Poruḷadhikāra-ārāychchi*, p. 11.
3. *Vide.* Kēraḷapuram records published below.
(A) Registered as No. 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

2 கரம்பை நாட்டு முக்கரையான மும்முடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம்*] சங்கரபாடியான் கழனி [வெண்ணியென்] றம்பி திருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டியென் இராசராசதெ[ன்*]னாட்டு செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார்[க்*]குச்

3 சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரிய வைச்ச தாராவிளக்கு வெள்ளிக்கொலால் நிறை அறுபது [।*] இவ்விளக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் என்பது சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரியும்படித் திருவொற்றைசெவக மாயலட்டி வைச்ச திருநந்தாவிளக்கு [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Śrī Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva, Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvaka-Māyalaṭṭi, brother of Kaḻaṉiveṇṇi of Śaṅkarappāḍi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Mummuḍiśōḷapuram, a village of Puṟaṅkarambai-nāḍu which is a sub-division of Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, a district of Śoḷa maṇḍalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *veḷḷikkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Teṉ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār of Śēramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu. This lamp-stand called Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvakaṉ is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvaka-Māyalaṭṭi, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

B

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [।*] கொச்சடையபன்மரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெவர்-[க்*]கு யாண்டு [ஆறா]வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார் கொவிலில் முதுகுடி செந்தில் ஆயிரவ-

2 [தெ]வன் மன்றுமாறி பொகில் தன்கூ[1] ஆக இறை புணைபடுவென் இவ்வூரை[3] மன்றாடி

3 இறையான் அச்சன்னென் இப்படி அன்றென்[எ]ல் அன்றாடு கொவி-லுக்கு[2] அறுகழ[ஞ்*]சு பொன் படுவொதாக

4 ஒட்டி இட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஒட்டி கைய்த்திட்டுக் குடுத்தொம் இவ்விருவொம் செரமங்கலத்து ஸபையார்க்கு [॥*]

5 இப்படி அறிவெ[4]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* Śrī-Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva, I, Iṟaiyāṉ-Achchaṉ a *maṉṟāḍi* of this village shall be security for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ of Śendil the tenant (*muduḳuḍi*) of the temple of Teṉ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār should shift from (the jurisdiction of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kaḷañju* of gold to the king for each day (of default).

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the council (*sabhaiyār*) of Chēramaṅgalam. This (I) know ....

(B) Registered as No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

1. It is probably a contraction for தன் கட[ம்*] ஆக or கட[மை*] ஆக.

2. If it is கொவிலுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple.

3 Read இவ்வூர்.

4 The record stops here.

C

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] செரமங்கலத்து இரணயஸிங்க[1]-
2 வீர[ன்*] தென்திருவாரங்கமுடையா[ர*[க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி . . .[2]

D

On a pillar in front of the temple.

1 தென்ங்-
2 திருவா-
3 ங்கத்து
4 ஆழ்வார்

No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.

Tiruvanvaṇḍūr which is known by the name of Tiruveṇmaṇḍūr and Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-maṇḍalam sung in the hymns of Nammāḻvār. It is referred to in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*[4] as well as in *Māṟanalaṅkārām*[5] and *Ashṭaprabandham*[6] as Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, the change of *vaṇḍūr* into *maṇḍūr* being accounted for by the genius of the Malayalam language (*cf.*, *vaṇṇāṉ*, *maṇṇāṉ*;).

(C) & (D). These are registered as Nos. 78 and 79 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M.E. (Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Tamil).

1 Read இரணியஸிங்கவீரன்.

2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *giṇḍi* (vessel with a spout) are missing.

3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vaṭṭeḻuttu.

E.—(No. 80 of 1093).

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] இடவத்தில் வியா . . . . .
2 ற்று செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்தி . . . . . .
3 ட்டு அதியனுரான அழகியபாண்டி . . . . . .
4 திடென்பூமி பட்டணமான . . . .
5 பொகம் ஆற்றுபுரத்து முத்தறை ஆ . . . . . .
6 றைக்கு மெக்கு காணுக்கு வட . . . .

F.—(*On the balikkal*).

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] ராஜராஜத்தென்னாட்டு ஸ்ரு-
2 ஷ்டித்தெயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார் தென்திரு-
3 வரங்க

4 *Tiruvāymoḻi*, VI, 1.

5 மலர்மகள் சேர்மணிமார்பன் வைகலும் வைகலும் மறுவில்
வண்டூர் வண்டூர் —*Māṟanalaṅkāram*, v. 713.

6 தேகமுலகுமுயிருந் திரிந்துநிற்கும்
யாவும் படைத்த விறைகண்டீர்—பூவிற்
திருவண்வண்டூருறையுந் தேவாதிதேவன்
மருவண்வண்டூர் துளவமால். —*Naṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 67.

The Vishṇu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nammāḻvār, the Vaishṇava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Kurattikkāḍu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṉmaṇḍūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *añju-gaṇattār*[1], who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Mūḻik-kaḻa-kachcham, which must have weilded considerable influence in those days. Mūḻikkaḷam or Mūshikakulam was one of the four places, where an early *kulakam* (*kaḷakam*)or assembly was installed according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are:

Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ-of Kurattikkāḍu (in the Tiruvalla taluk),
Sēnnan-Kaṇṇaṉ of Charuppōdimaṅgalam,
Śāttaṉ-Kīraṉ of Tāḷañjēri,
Śuvaraṉ-Śāttaṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam,
Dēvaṉ-Śēnnaṉ of Eḻumuḻaichchēri,
Śaṅkaraṉ-Śuvaraṉ of Tāḷaimaṉ, and
Vaḍukikōdu and Udiyaṅkōḍu among names of fields.

Text.[2]

I . . . கர் . [ட]கத்துள் வியாழ நிற்க மிரிச்சிகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த காரியமாவது[।*] திருவெண்மண்டூர் பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு குறத்திகாட்டு எதிரங்கவிரர் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக்கினு திருவெண்மண்டூர் ஊரா-

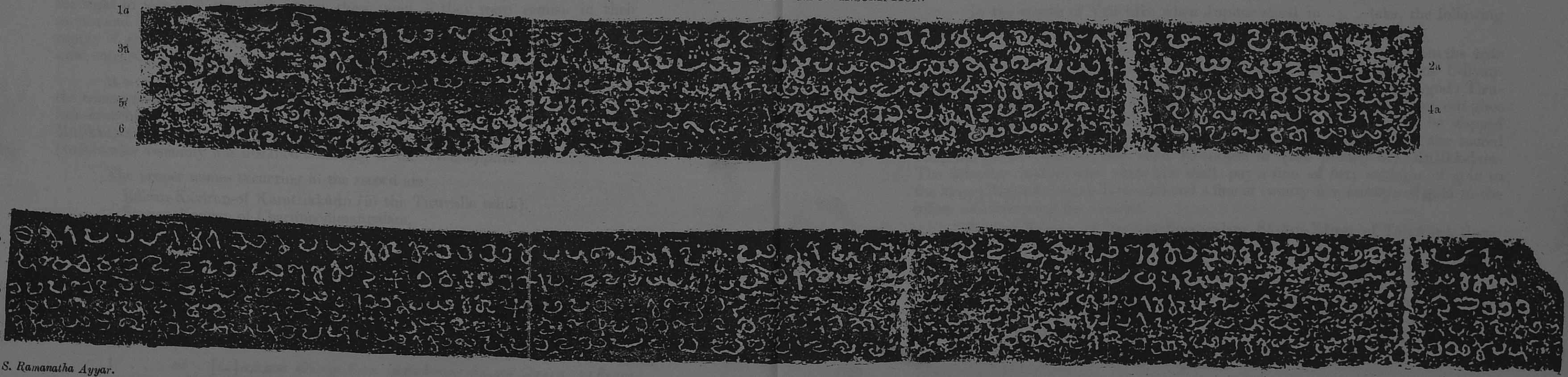
2 . . . மூன்று பொன் கொடுத்து [கொ]ண்ட பூமி[।*]வடுகிகொடும் உதியன் கொட்டில் பாதியும் இவ்விர[ண்டு] பூமியும் நந்தாவிளக்கினு அமைச்சரன் [।*] இநந்தாவிளக்கினு ஐஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியர் [।*] இவ்வஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் உழவு அடுத்தாலு ஒருநாள் [முட்]டிக்கில்

3 . . . ம் உழுமவகள்க்கு இப்பூமி விலக்கிகிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் மூழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [।*] முட்டிச்சவனு அனுபந்தம் பறையுமவனும் பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதிங் கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் . . .
. . . நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைங்[கழைஞ்ஞு] பொன் த்த-

1 Compare also the *panchagaṇas* of the epic age and the *aimperuṅguḻu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E.

No. 9—TIRUVANVANDUR INSCRIPTION.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-eighths.

4 . . . சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சாத்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுளைச்செரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சங்கரஞ் சுவரனும் இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[டி]ச்சினு

5 . . . . . யிராதொழிவொராயில் இவகளுடைய செல[விது][1] எப்படிப்பட்டிதும் விலக்கி யுள் தடுத்துவைச்சு மிட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவிய[2]ன் [।*] ஒரு திங்கள் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில் அவன் தந்ததி[3] உழுது நின்று நெய்யட்டக் கடவியர் [।*] இத்திருவிளக்கு வைச்சான் குறத்திகாட்டு எதி-

6 . . . . [4]ரன் நன்றுழநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக் கடவியர்[॥*]

Translation.

In the month of Vriśchika when Jupiter stood in . . . ṭaka, the following transaction was made:—

Edirañ-Kaviraṉ of Kuṟattikāḍu gave, by purchase for . 3 *poṉ* from the *ūrār* of Tiruveṉmaṇḍur, the two (pieces of) lands Vaḍugi-kōḍu and a half of Uḍiyaṉ-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiru-veṉmaṇḍūr-Bhaṭāraka. The five representatives (*gaṇattār*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land . . . . be stopped for one day . . . . . . , if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūḻikkaḷam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kaḻañju* of gold to the king (Perumānaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi) and a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Śēṉṉaṉ-Kaṇṇan of Saruppēdimaṅgalam, Śāttaṉ-Kīraṉ of Tāḻañjēri, Śuvaraṉ-Śāttaṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Dēvaṉ-Śēnnaṉ of Eḻumuḷaichchēri, Śaṅkaraṉ-Śuvaraṉ of Tāḻaimaṉ—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Edirañ-Kaviraṉ of Kuṟattikāḍu. The 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻa-nāḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the same Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōdaivarman,[5] whose position

1 Compare the restriction,
மிகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினோடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்
occurring in the Tirukkuḍittanam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

2 ய is engraved below the line.

3 The two த's are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

in the Chēra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarman. The record further mentions Kumaraṉ-Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ, and the *muṉṉūṟṟuvar* of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu.

Text.[2]

1 கொவிந்து கொதைவர்ம்மர்க்குச்செ . . . . [ய்யா]மாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு . . . .

2 நன்றுழநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரும் . . . . சஞ் செந்தனு மங்கலத்து குமரங்குன்றப்பொழனு நன்றுழைநாட்டு . யனும் இநால்வரும் . . . .

3 . . . .
ச்சு திருவெண்மண்ணிரும் . . . .

No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chenganachery. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Jñāvarkkāḍu for feeding one thousand brahmans during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr of about the same period as this, a certain Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Kurattikkāḍu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Vishṇu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkāḍu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tirunālgaṇam* and the *poduvāḷ* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḻañju* of gold to the *Kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amaichchuḻḻu-ṟutta?*), 50 *kaḻañju* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kaḻañju* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *kōyiladhikāri* has here taken the place of *perumānaḍigaḷ* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tirunālgaṇam*[3] represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gaṇa* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

The contributions of cocoanuts, plantains etc. which the *viḷāvāriyar* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple. were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*[4] or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, *viz.*,

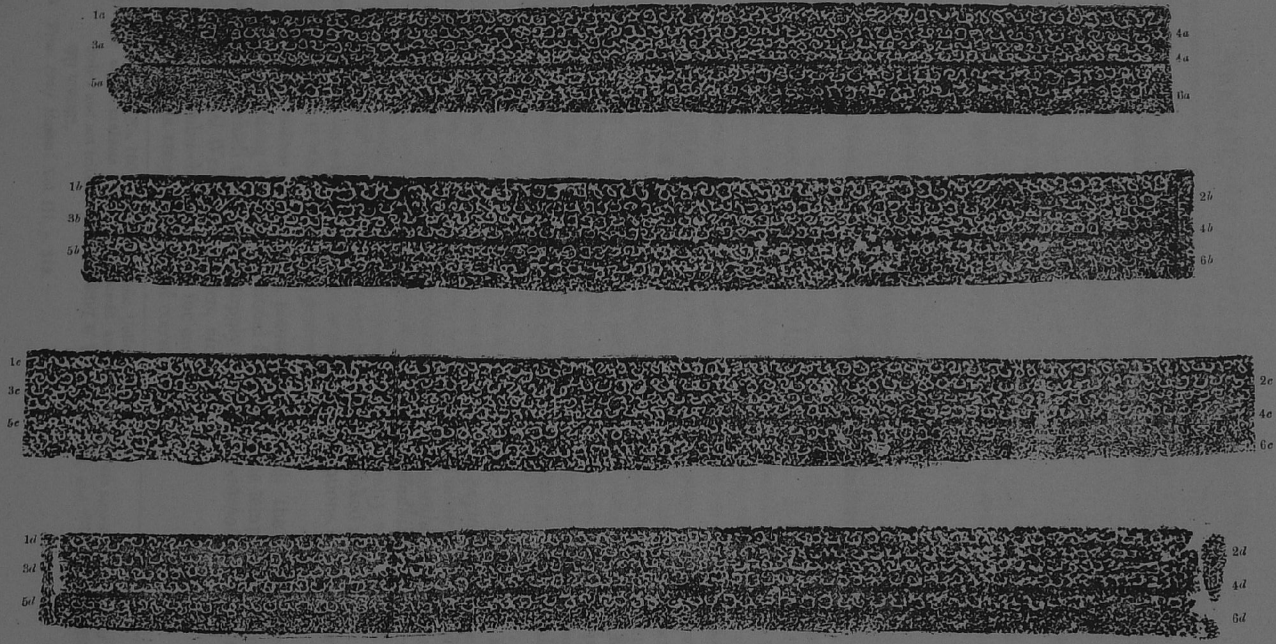
1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēṅgā, a bunch of cocoanuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 The *utsava-saṅkētas* of the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Mahābhārata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes: शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसंकेतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.

3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 319.

No. 11—PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION.



Scale: One-sevenths.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

3. Kula-aḍakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vāḻai, a bunch of plantains, and
5. Veṭṭu-ōla, share in the cocoanut leaves cut.

The *poduvāḷ* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *virutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumattu-paṇam*)[1] was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[||*] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற்[க*]கன்னி ஞாயிற்று ஞாயிறுண்ட
அச்சுவதி நாள் பெருநெய்தல் முக்கால்வட்டத் திருந்து திருநாள்க்கண-
த்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் அவிரோத[த்*]தால் கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவ-
து[||*]இத் திருநாள்க்கணத்தார்க்கு ஞாவல்க்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன் க-
ளத்திலொலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருநூற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞூ-
டு[வு]டைய ஆரிச்சங் கொதைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன கொடுத்துடைய
நெல பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விற்றிரட்டிச்ச [வண்ணம்]
பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஈராயிரம் பறைநெல்லும் ஆட்டா-

2 ண்டும் கன்னிஞாயிற்றெறும் திருநாள்க்கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத்தி-
ல் ஆயிரவர் பிராமணரை அமிர்து செய்விப்பிதாகத் திருநாள்க் கணத்-
தார் பொதுவாள் கையியிலட்டிக்[கொ]டுத்தான் எதிரங்கவிரன்[||*]
இத்திருவாராதனம் பத்துநாளிலும் கன்னிஞாயிற் றமரவக்ஷத்தில் பஞ்-
சமி துடங்கி நியதி நூறு நூறு மானிடத்தை அமிர்து சைய்விச்சு ஆறு-
ட்டக்கடவர் ஆட்டாண்டும் வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும் எதிரங்கவிரனும்
[||*]இதர வழியால் [ஒரொத்தர்]ஒரொத்தர் இரட்டிரட்டை குலை[3] வா-
ழைக்காயும் ஒரொ குலை[3] வாழைப்பழமும் . . . .

3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரொத்தொருத்த ரிரட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநா-
ழிச் சைய்துப்பும் இருபலஞ் சைய்துபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச் சைய்து தயிரும்
பதினாழிச் சைய்துமோரும் கொண்டு வந்து தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள்
கொண்டு வந்து அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னெய் விழாவாரியரும் பொ-
துவாரொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத் தமிர்து சைய்யிக்க கடவர்[||*]பொ-
துவா ளிருநூறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்து கொடுக்க கடவன்[||*] திரிஞ-
ஞு பந்திரடியில் முன்னெயமிர்து செய்யிச்சு விழாப்பலி புறப்படக்கடவர்
வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும்[||*]இ[லை]யும் விறகும் வுத்திர விழாச்செய்யு
மவகள் கொண்டு . . . .

4 அடிக்க கடவர்[||*]இப்பரிசெய் இத்திருவிழாவிந்று எதிரங்கவிர னமைச்ச-
செலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவர் திருநாள்க்க-
ணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் [||*]இப்பரி சொட்டினகாலத்து முட்டா-
தெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில் அமைச்சுள்ளு[றுத்த] கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு
நூற்றுக்கழைஞ்ஞும் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு அய்ம்பதின கழைஞ்ஞும்
வாழ்க்கைவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்ட[ப்]பட[க்*]-
கடவர்[||*]இடையிடன் இச்செலவினு விரொதிக்கில் இத்தண்டம் பொ-

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 335.

2 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 85 of 1086).

3 குலை looks like கரு.

[ன்*]னும் பட்டு தவைக்கும் பந்திரு கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு காட்டப்பெறக்[1] கடவன்[||*] திருநாள்க்கணத்தா-

5 ருடைய கரியில்ப் புக்கு விலக்குமவரும் பொருள் கவருமவரும் இ[த்*]தண்டம்படக்கடவியர் [||*]இவமைஞ்ஞு கறியும் முட்டி யூண்வொன்று குறையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞு கணத்தான் இரண்டரைக் காணம் பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு[க் கொண்டு]அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியுன் [||*] களத்திநலொடி[நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சங்கோதை தந்து செல்லாநுகில் [3]முழாவு திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் கூடி-மற்றொரு பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராண்மை செய்யிச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணூழிப்பறையா விருநூறுபறை . . . . .

6 ஞ அரிகருதிது[4] கொடுக்ககடவன்[||*]எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததியும் இப் பூமி காராண்மைச் செய்து நெல்லளப்பாறுற்றுதொழிகில் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் தாங்களெய் உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவர்[||*]எதிரங்கவிர[னும்]அவன பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ரக்ஷிக்கக்கடவர் பொதுவாளும் கணத்தாரும் [||*]எதிரங்கவிரனுக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளைக்கும் தந்ததிக்கும்[மு]டைய-

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of Aśvati which was a Sunday in the month of Kaṉṉi (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in Kanyā-rāśi when, in the temple at Peruneydal were assembled together the *tirunāḷgaṇattār* (*i. e.*, the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāḷ*. In order that one thousand Brāhmaṇas may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *tirunāḷgaṇattār* in the month of Kaṉṉi, Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ of Jñāvalkāḍu gave with libation of water to this body of *tirunāḷgaṇam*, the land called Kaḷattinālōḍi with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *paṟai* of seed-paddy measured by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḷi*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *paṟai* of paddy measured by the *paṟai* of ten *nāḷi*, given by Ediran-Kaviraṉ to Ādichchaṉ Kōdai of Muññinādu. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāḷ* and Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kaṉṉi and have the *āṟāṭṭu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *viḷā-vāriyār* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, ... ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāḷi* of pure salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāḷi* of good curds, ten *nāḷi* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāḷ* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāḷ* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the bali-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāḷ*. Those who perform the Uttira-festival . . . . shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for பட்டம் பெறக்கடவன்; if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary.

2 Engraved above the line.

3 Read விழாவு.

4 This is not understood.

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original.

Thus, the *tirunālgaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kaḻañju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kaḻañju* to the *vāḻkkaivāḻumavaṉ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *iḍaiyīḍaṉ* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kaḻañju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunālgaṇattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *gaṇattāṉ* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves[1] and nuts. If Ādichchaṉ-Kōdai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattinālōḍi, the *tirunālgaṇattār* the *poduvāḷ* and Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ, shall pay annually two hundred *paṟai*, as measured by the *paṟai* holding eight *nāḻi*, and . . . . If Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy).

(In that case), the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall protect Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ and his male and female relations.[2] Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ . . . belonging to his male and female relations. . . .

No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi. The inscription of the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikāri who was staying at Neḍiyataḷi, granting an annual income of forty *kalam* along with *arandai* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāḷ*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu, who promised not to collect the *arandai* thereafter.

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1 *Aḍai* means '*leaf*' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'நெய்யிடைநல்லதோர் சோறும் . . . . . கையடைக்காயும்.' – *Tiruppallāṇḍu*, though *aḍaikkāy* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt.

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, *viz.*, Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi[1] and Kaḍamba-nāḍu[2]. Of these Kāpālimaṅgalam and Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Neḍiyataḷi[3] is mentioned in two records of Tirukkākkarai. Muttūṟṟukūṟṟam figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Vēḷir chiefs. A place named Muttūṟṟumūlai[4] is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūṟu[5] may possibly be Muttūṟu in the Tiruvalla taluk.

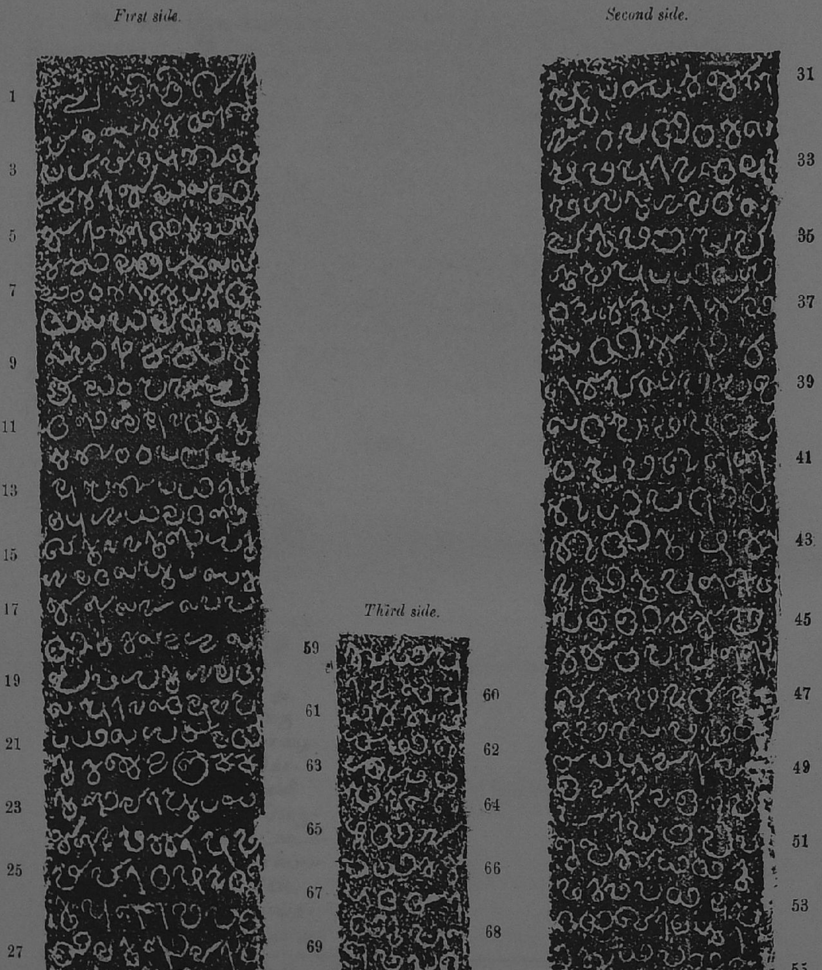
Padi or *Kuḍippadi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Puṉṉaittalappati[6] and Pūḷaikkuḍippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthāṇu-Ravi. The term *āṭṭaikkoḷ* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-naṉaichch-aruḷiyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Padiyuṟutti* (*l.* 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The sparing use of the dialectic forms *oḷḷa* (*l.* 4) *aruḷiyār* (*l.* 23, 70, 71), and *vanna* (*l.* 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandai* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *dēśavāḷis*; its literary synonym is 'misery'.

Text.[7]

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இரா-
மாண்டைக்கெதிர் எ-
டடாமாண்டு குலெ-
செகர கொயிலதி-
காரிகள் திருவிரா-
ச்சியஞ் செல்லா-
னின்ற கர்க்கடகத்-
தில் வியாழத்தி-
ல விரிச்சிக-
ஞாயிற்று நாலு
தளியையுந் திரு-
க்குன்றப்பொழை-
யுங் கூட்டி கொ-
ண்டு நெடியதளி
இருந்நருளி பெரு-
நெய்தல் ஆட்டைக்-
கொளால் நால்ப்ப-
தின் கலந் நெல்-
லும் பெருநெய்த-
ல் அரந்தையும் அ-

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II. p. 154.
2 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 183.
3 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 47.
4 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163.
5 മുത്തൂററിച്ചെന്നിനിയപ്പുഴയും പിന്നിലിട്ടേഷു ഗംഗാ
മുത്തിച്ചു ത്വം വിരവൊടു സഖേ നാമ്യകോടിക്ക ചെൽക— *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam.* v. 125.
6 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 82.
7 This is registered as No. 15 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 87 of 1086).

No. 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.



Scale: One-sevenths.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

21 ட்டில்பெறுய் தி-
22 ருக்கை நனைச்ச-
23 ருளியார் [।*] ஆட்டைக்
24 கொள் நமக்காரமும்
25 மாபாரதமுந் தி-
26 ருவுள்ளம் பண்-
27 ணியருளியார் அ-
28 மைச்சுள்ளு பதி[1]-
29 ய குலசெகரகொ
30 யிலதிகாரிகள் [॥*]

Second face.

31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்
32 நாற்பதின்கல-
33 மும் அரந்தையு-
34 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
35 ஊருமபொதுவா-
36 ளும் அட்டில்பெ-
37 றுய் கொண்டார் [॥*] கொயி-
38 லதிகாரிக-
39 ள் காபாலிமங்ல-
40 லத்தும் முத்து-
41 ற்றும் ஒள்ள
42 குடிபதிக்-
43 கு திருமுக-
44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்
45 பண்ணிக்[2] காம-
46 க்கானப்பள்ளி
47 இராமந் தாய-
48 னும் கடம்மன்
49 னுட்டு நாராய-
50 ண நாராயணனும்
51 ஊர்ப்பொதுவா-
52 ளுங் கூடி திரு-
53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-
54 த்தி [।*] இரண்டூர்-
55 [க்] குடிபதியு-
56 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
57 [மு]க்கால்வ-
58 ட்டத்து வந்து

Third face.

59 கூடி அ-
60 ரந்தை[3] அ-

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1 அமைச்சுள்ளுறு[த்*]திய seems to be a better reading. Compare also அமைச்சுள்ளுறுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு (*T. A. S.*, II, p. 44) and அமைச்சுள்ளுறுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிக்கு (*T. A. S.*, V, p.35)

2 Read பண்ணைக்.

3 The word *arandai* has beed used in the sense of 'misery' in *Śilappadigāram*.

அரந்தை கெடுத்து வரந்தருமிவளென ஆடித்திங்கள் கவையினுங்கோர் — *Uraipperukaṭṭurai*, 3.

61 டிக்கும-[1]
62 தொழிஞ்-
63 ஞொமென்-
64 று கல் எ-
65 ழுதி நா-
66 ட்டிக் கொ
67 டுத்தார்
68 திருவுள்-
69 ளம் பண்-
70 ணியருளி-
71 ய மார்-
72 க்கமெ [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikārigaḷ, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and in the month of Vriśchika, Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *taḷis*[2] and Tirukkuṉṟappōḷai (with him), was pleased to be present in Neḍiyataḷi, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *aṭṭippēṟu* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāḷ* received as *aṭṭippēṟu* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai*. Kōyilādhikārigaḷ issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu; Rāman-Tāyaṉ of Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi and Nārāyaṇaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kadamba-nāḍu as well as the *ūr-poduvāḷ* conjointly informed the [3]chieftains of (this) royal order; the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole, is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. E., Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription:—

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Simha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 அடுக்குமது in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Aḍukkuvadu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logan defines *pati* as an intermediary between the *koṉ* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged; but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi. The Kōyiladhikāri *i. e.*, the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Paṉaiṅgāvu in Kurakkēṇi-Kollam (*i. e.*, Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāṇḍyas, burnt the fort of Kōṭṭāṟu and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēṇāḍu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvaḍi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēṇāḍu king Rāma-Tiruvaḍi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthāṇu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ and Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ respectively have been copied at Peruneyil[1] and Tiruvālūr[2] and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Mâkara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (பதி . . மாண்டை)opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkaṭaka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kanni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyil epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kanni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyil and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulaśēkhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulaśēkhara-chakravartin who was the *Kōyiladhikāri* of [Rāma]-Tiruvaḍi[3]. The title of '*Chakravartin*' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirājyam chella-niṉṟa*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi' to whom Kulaśēkhara was the *Kōyiladhikāri* may refer to the god[4] at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvaḍi-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ as the name of the

1. vide page 38 *supra*.
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 145.
3. Another reading also seems possible—*கோதராயர் திருவடி*, who may have been an earlier namesake of Vīrarāyiravarman of A. D. 1645. (*Cochin Manual*, p 80)
4. *Tiruvaḍi* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, *cf.* Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭāraka-Tiruvaḍi.

king and Kulaśēkhara-chakravartigaḷ as an *alias* (*āyiṇa*) or his regal title· If however, Rāma-Tiruvaḍi was the king and Kulaśēkhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regnal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory.. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśēkhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Paṇaiṅgāvu[1] at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkiramaṉ, who was administering the Quilon territory (*l.* 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too-damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochin Rajas still style themselves as Kōyiladhikārigaḷ in documents relating to the landed property of temples,[2] their usual title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gangādhara Virakēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikārigaḷ.[3]

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmēśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. As a Kshatriya; his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Murajapam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression', but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brahmans or to *tavaiyāriyar* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhūsurās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmaṇas' (*ll.* 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident:

(i) Vīra-Kēraḷavarman Tiruvaḍi[4] paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain Dēśikaḷ (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilaimēlkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōṭṭas* of land and 30,000 *paṇam* to the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

1. This palace also occurs in the Mamballi plate of Vallabhaṅgōdai (A. D. 974) -*T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 9. *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (*c.* 1350) has in verse 74:

ഓരപ്പിന്നെ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവെന്നതിന്നകംപ്പു-

ക്കാരാ:വം [illegible] വീം തോ.

2. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.
3. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.
4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

(ii) Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman[1] made a similar expiatory donation to that temple for having put to death several men in the war that took place near Kiḷimānūr;

(iii) Vīra Ravivarman[2] bestowed some gifts to the temple at Trivandrum for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kuruvai-*illam*; and

(iv) Vīra Rāmavarman[3] atoned for certain atrocities committed by him in Āykōṇam, Vīranarārāyaṇacheri and Puliyakuṛuchchi by making a gift of an elephant to the temple.

These penalties were called *garvakkaṭṭu* or amercement for highhandedness; and other similar instances may be multiplied. In all these cases, the question of expiation came in only when sins were committed on the king's own volition during wars of aggression or in petty acts of despotism, and it therefore seems probable that the incident recorded in the Quilon inscription may have been also of a similar nature.

One other point deserves mention, *viz.*, that in both this and the Peruneyil epigraphs the king is stated to have been accompanied by the four *taḷi*:

நாலுதளியையுந் திருக்குன்றப்போழையுங் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு நெடியதளி
யிருந்தருளி —*Peruneyil*,
நாலுதளியு மாயிரம் அறுநூற்றுவரும் இந்நாடுவாழ்க்கையான் ....
முதலாயுள்ள சாமந்தரும் திருக்கைக்கீழ் கூடியிருக்க —*Quilon.*

The version of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*[4] is that the brahman oligarchy which originally ruled Kēraḷa found itself incompetent to discharge its administrative duties satisfactorily owing to internal dissensions, that it tried the rule by 'protectors' or *Rakshāpurushas* (for short terms of three years) elected from the four villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruñjellūr and Cheṅganniyūr, in which had been located the four *kaḷakams* or electing assemblies representing the 64 *grāmams* of Kēraḷa, that finding this expedient also unsatisfactory, it got down Viceroys from adjacent countries to rule over them and afford protection, and that as a check on these selected kings, they finally formed four new assemblies at Iriñjālakuḍa, Mūḷikkaḷam Paravūr and Ayirāṇikuḷam, which were situated near enough to each other, unlike the original four which were so far apart as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These four new assemblies had their own meeting places called *taḷis*[5] (assembly halls) in the capital itself: *viz.*, Mēltaḷi (Mūḷikkaḷam), Kīḻtaḷi (Ayirāṇikkaḷam), Neḍiyataḷi (Paravūr) and Chingapurattaḷi (Iriñjālakkuḍal), which were controlled by their presidents called *taḷiyādirimār*, who were selected celibates from certain influential families. According to the Peruneyil inscription the king

1. *The Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 265.
2. Do. p 266
3. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII., p. 123.
4. നാൻ തന്നെ വ്യാപരിക്കരുത എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു നിത്യകാഴ്ചയും രാജാവോടുകൂടി പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചു. കോവിലകത്തിൽ സമീപത്തു തന്നെ ൪ കഴകത്തിനു കല്പിച്ചു പരിഷക്ക ഇരിപ്പാൻ ൪ തളി-യും തീൎത്തു. മേൽതളി, കീഴതളി, നെടിയതളി, ചിങ്ങപുരതളി, ഇത്തളിയിൽ ഇരുന്നു രക്ഷിക്കുന്നവർ തളിയാതിരിമാർ— *Kēralōlpatti*, p. 14.
5. Compare *நாலுதளியும் தளிக்கடுத்த கிராமம்*— *Epig. Ind.*, IV-295.

Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri was at the time seated in the Neḍiyataḷi hall (at his capital?) surrounded by (the presidents of) all the four assemblies and (the president of) the Tirukkunnappuḷa-(sankētam) or the Edappaḷḷi chief (?) and issued an order making certain gifts in favour of the Peruneyil temple. This order was conveyed to the chief residents (*kuḍipati*) of two villages of Kāpālimangalam and Muttūṟu by Kāmakkānappaḷḷi Rāman-Tāyaṉ and Nārāyaṇaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kaḍamba-nāḍu. It may be noted that the *taḷiyādiris* of the Neḍiyataḷi were selected from Iḷandurutti and Kaḍamba-nāḍu. Tirukkunnappuḷa seems to be identical with the village of the same name belonging to the Eḍappalli chief near Karttigaippalli in the Quilon Division. There is also another Iḷangunnappuḷa[2] in the island of Vaipin, the famous Subrahmaṇya temple of which was, before its absorption by the Cochin State, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *yōgam* wielding high sacerdotal power.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Neḍiyataḷi Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṟṟaḷi belonging to Mūḷikkaḷam (Mūshikakkaḷam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirunelli. Neḍiyataḷi and Mēṟṟaḷi[3] occurring in the records of Tirukkākkarai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*]
2 கொல்லந்தொ-
3 ன்றி யிருநூ-
4 ற்றெழுபத்-
5 தெட்டாமாண்-
6 டைக் கன்னியி-
7 ல் வியாழம் புக்-
8 க [சிங்ஙஞா] யிறு-
9 ஒன்பது சென்-
10 ற நாள் இரண்டா-
11 மாண்டைக் கெதி-
12 ர் பதி [கொரா] மாண்டை-
13 [ய் இ] ராமர்[5] திருவ-
14 டி கொயிலதிகா-
15 ரிகளாயின ஸ்ரீகு-
16 லசெகரச் சக்கி-
17 ரவர்த்திகள் கு-
18 ரக்கெணிக் கொல்ல-
19 த்து பனங்காவி-
20 ன் கொயிலகத்தி-
21 ருந்நருள ஆரிய-
22 ரொடு வந்ந விரொத-
23 த்தினு ப்ராயச்சித்-
24 தத்தினு புத்தன் அ-
25 றையால் பதினொழி-
26 க்கொள்ளும் பறையா-
27 ல் நியதம் ஒரொப-
28 றைச் செய்து நெல்

Second face.

29 இராமெச்-
30 சுவரத்து
31 . . . . .
32 . . . . .
33 . . . ஆரி-

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III. p. 598.
2 *Cochin Manual*, p 373.
3 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III. p. 172, 167.
4 Registered as No. 54 of the *Trav. Epig. Collns.* for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).
5. Another reading கொராயர் seems possible. Compare also:

എപ്പൊഴും തിരുനടകരളും രായിരക്ഷോണിപാലാ
കെല്പ്പാർന്നീടും മഹിതചിറവാവീരനെക്കണ്ടുപോക.—*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

34 ய ஸ்ராஷணை-
35 ருங் கூடி-
36 யிருந்நட-
37 த்து . . பக்க-
38 ல் . . . .
39 யக்கங் கை-
40 யில்த் தி-
41 ருக்கை ந-
42 னைச்சருள
43 நான்கு த-
44 ளியு மா-
45 யி[ரம் அ]-
46 றுநூற்று-
47 வரும் [இன்]-
48 னூடு வாழ்க்-
49 கையான் விக்-
50 கிரமனுன
51 . . . . .
52 க்கன் முத-
53 லாயுள்ள
54 சாமந்தரு-
55 ங் திருக்கை-
56 க்கிழ்க் கூ-
57 டியிருக்க-
58 த் திருக்கை
59 நனைச்ச[ரு]-
60 ளியாவிது [।*]
61 அச்செரி-
62 க்கல் காரா-
63 ண்மை செ-
64 த வெணாட்-
65 டு குமர-
66 னுதையவ-
67 ரம்மன்

Third face.

68 இ . . . . . .
69 . . . .
70 ஐந்நாழி கொள்ளு-
71 மிடங்கழியால் முப்-
72 பத்தறுகல நெல் வி-
73 ராமெசுரத்து மண்ட-
74 பத்தில் [கூட்டங்]-
75 கூடி யிருந்நதில்
76 இ[வ்வாண்டு] முதல்
77 திரு . . . . வைக்கு-
78 ம் திருக்கூத்துங்
79 கூடிச் செ[ல்வது] [।*]
80 கிற்றடிச்சுவரத்-
81 து மெலெலாடித்தி .
82 . லு செங்நெல் மு-
83 ப்பத்தறு கலம்-
84 . . . . விப்படி
85 பதினெண்க் கல-
86 ம் நெல்லால் செ-
87 லவிடுவிது [।*] வைச்ச
88 நெல் பதினைங்கல-
89 த்தால் தொள்ளாயிர-
90 நாழி பலாக்காட்டு க-
91 ண்ணந் தெவன் செல-
92 விடுவிது [।*] தொள்ளா-
93 யிரநாழி மெல் இவ்-
94 வூர் (வூர்) சத்திபிரம-
95 ஞ் செலவிடுவிது [।*]
96 செலவு முட்டிகின்றெ
97 . . . . மயாலஞ்ஞா-
98 ழி அரி தண்டபட்டு
99 செலவிடுவிது [।*] காராள-
100 ர் மூவருங் கூடி செரிக்-
101 கல் . . காராளரும் திரு-
102 க்குணவாததெவர் திருந-
103 டையில் கொண்டு அந்நாழி-
104 க்கு ஒக்கு மிட[ங்*]கழி
105 நாநூற்று நாழி நெலாட்-
106 டை காராளரு செரிக்கல் கொ-
107 டுப்பது [।*] யிவண்ண[ம்*]மை-
108 ச்சமைக்கு . . . கு-
109 ணவாயிரனும் யிக்கடை

Fourth face.

110 கடமையா-
111 ல் . . . .
112 தின்றும -
113 திச்சு ஒ-
114 க்கு . . .
115 -ன்றுநாழி
116 உரியால்
117 . . . .
118 யிருநாழி
119 .அக்கிரம்
120 பதினுழி
121 இப்பெருமா-
122 ள் நடை சில-
123 விற்கு அவ-
124 ற்றிற்கு நா-
125 ழுரி கிற்ற-

126 டிச்சுரத்து
127 மொலொடிக்-
128 கு நாழுரி
129 . . கொடுத்-
130 து . க . ன்
131 ற மஙங-
132 லத் திரவி
133 யிராயரன்[1]
134 கையெழுத்து [।*]
135 . . ன . .
136 ல
137 க்களுங்
138 யும் . .
139 . . . .
140 . . . .
141 மிசரஙங-
142 கையரடியார்
143 ஆறிக்கு . .
144 ச்சனெழுத்து [।*]
145 அறைகூர் ஆசா-
146 ரி கையெழுத்
147 து [।*] திருப்பெ-
148 ரூர் மறைக்-
149 க . . கண்டாச்ச-
150 ன் கையெ-
151 ழுத்து ஸ்ரீ [।।*]

No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Sāttaṉ Marudappiḷḷai of Kāyalil and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount.

Text.[2]

1 சிறி கொல்லம் ஞாயறு நாயினார் திருவிராமீசுரமுடைய நாயினா[ர்*] தெவ-
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார் தகைவாய் கிடந்து விடுவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-
2 யிராவணர் தொட்டம்(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிற்புரையிடம் ஆக
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [।*] கிழெல்லை முனைங்கட-
3 வத்துக்குப் பொகிற வழிக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-
மெலெல்லை வாள்தடையார் குடியிருப்புக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை
4 மருமாண்டிக்கு பொரக[3] நாராயப்பெருவழிக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்த நா-
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாத்தன் மருதப்பிள்ளை
5 கொண்டு பண்ட[ா*]ரத்தார் சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்
பக்கல் அச்சு பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிட்கையில இவற்கு ஆக இரு-
நாழி அரி-
6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இடுவொமாகவும் [।।*] உருபிடத்தில்
மெல்படை நாலும் காயலி[ல்*] சாத்தன் நாயனார் [மு]ம்மநால் [।।*]

1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above.
2 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.
3 Read பொகிற.

Translation.

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvaṇaṉ-tōṭṭam, Aṟakkal-puraiyiḍam, and Vayaliṟ-puraiyiḍam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following:—

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Muṉaiṅgaḍavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāḷtaḍaiyar*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāṇḍi.

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāttaṉ Marudapiḷḷai of Kāyalil, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *iṟaṅgaḷ* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupīṭham* are by Śāttaṉ Nayanār Mummaṉ of Kāyalil.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilaṉ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḻagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-maṅgai-mānagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Kuḍai-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuḍa-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koḍuntamiḻ*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*śendamiḻ*) which was current in and around Madura, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kuḍanāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kiḻavaṉ* means 'the headman of the village (*urimai-yuḍaiyavaṉ*), the suffix *kiḻamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [|*] கொல்லம் ருாயகூ மாண்டு சித்திரைமாதம் இத்திருவாதில் திருநி-

2 லைகாலும் படியும் குடைநாட்டு[2] அங்கைமங்கலமான விரபாண்டியன் ம-[ங்]கை

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1 தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங் கற்கா வேண் பூழி
பன்றி யருவா வதன் வடக்கு— நன்றாய
சீதம் மலாடு புனனாடு செந்தமிழ்சே
ரேதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டெண்.

2 In a Cholapuram record of Kollam 519, occurs the following:
ஸ்ரீபாண்டிமண்டலத்து குடநாட்டு கங்கைமங்கலமான மதுரோதையப்பெருந்தெரு.

3 மானகரத்து நாவலூர் கிழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமழகியார்
4 செய்தத் திருப்பணி உ [illegible] உ

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilaṉ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḻagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍiyamaṅgai-māṉagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Tiruveḻunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves of which are beaten thin like olai leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruveḻunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kaṇṇan-Kaṇṇan of Maṇṇūr as the *poduvāḷ* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *ān, ār* in some cases like *koduttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completes discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.*, Vīra Kōdaivarman of the Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīḻappērūr. The Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam was the name of one among those small chieftaincies called Vaḍakkumkūṟu, Tekkumkūṟu, Paṇḍaḷam, Iḷaiyaḍam, Quilon, Ambalapuḻa, Eḍappaḷḷi etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēṇāḍu until the time of the Travancore king *Mārttaṇḍavarman*, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the Iḷaiyaḍam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Sheṅcōṭṭa, Vaḷḷiyūr, Koṭṭārakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgāḍ;[1] and Vīra-Kōdaivarman of the Tiruveḻunnannūr records must have been a Koṭṭārakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 340-1.

state that his subordinates (*tiruvaḍikkamainda-kōyilkanmi*) gave some lands for the conduct of the morning service (*ushaḥpūjā*) and for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) in the temple of Eṇḍalaiyappaṉ at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīḻappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, *viz.*,

'തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ പട്ടാരകർക്കു നൂററുമനു മാണ്ടു കുംഭഞായെറു വ്യ ചെന്ന നാം'

it appears probable that the year 663, if it is not a scribe's mistake for 793 of the other record, may refer to the number of years that had elapsed since the Tiruveḷunnannūr temple was constructed: and if the temple may be presumed to have come into existence in about Kollam 130, 663 years after its erection would coincide with Kollam 793, the year quoted in the other record, and both the records would then belong to the time of the same Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman. That this practice was not uncommon of dating temple records from the date of construction of those particular temples which inaugurated a local era, may be seen from other instances in the cases of the [1]Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temples. It may however be noted that no other document in this set of copper-plates relating to the Tiruveḷannannūr temple is similarly dated.

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vēṇāḍu king called Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakēraḷa Rāmavarman will ordinarily signify king Rāmavarman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was followed by a king named Rāmavarman in the following instances only:—

(i) [2]Vīra-Kēraḷa Mārttāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārttāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,

(ii) [3]Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Vīra-Kēraḷavarman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman in about Kollam 722.

(iii) [4]Uṇṇi Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rāmavarman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruveḷunnannūr set does not mention any Vēṇāḍu kings but only a Vīra-Kōdaivarman of the Iḷayaḍattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 78.
2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 266 and No. 1. of 1084.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 104.
4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēṇāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīḻappērūr and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets.

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. oṟṟi-ōla,
8. nēoṟṟi-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kaḍavāyppa-ōla or muṟi,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes.

Karpūra-vila-ola is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription[1] of Rājarāja I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai: 'கற்பூரவிலையும் . . . . இழிஞ்ச காசு ஸம்செய்தபடி. It is understood from a Kākatīya record[2] found at Mōṭṭuppaḷḷi in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *paṇam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Gaṇapatidēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpuravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensible camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr will make this clear:

'നെല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്ന നെല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്ന കർപ്പൂരവില കല്പിച്ച ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൧ ൨ ചൈതാക' and

'കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ട തേചത്തിന്ന വാളെക്കോട്ട ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്ന കർപ്പൂരവില കല്പിച്ച ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൧ ൨ ചൈതാക'

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1. *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 197, 'कर्पूरमुनकु चीनकर्पूरानकु मुत्यालकू वेल ग १ कि १ ≡॥'

Tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla— *Tōraṇa* is the '*tōraṇa-viḷakku*' (the arch of lamps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease; so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *viḷakku-pāṭṭam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōraṇa* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

(തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന തോരണം വച്ചുക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ച തോരണത്തരകം എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ. ... ഇത്തോരണത്തിന്ന എള്ളക ... ... തോരണത്തിനകത്തു ഒള്ള ... ... മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിസംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷുവിളക്കിന്നും തിരിയും കൂട ......

It may be noted that Tōraṇattōṭṭam was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of Sthāṇu-ravi, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōraṇa-kāṇikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the Veḷḷāṇi inscription of Vīra-Rāmavarman the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōraṇas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattāpanam-śeydu*) and the discus (*tiru-vāḷikkal-nāṭṭi*) were used in respect of Śiva and Vishṇu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (*cf.* Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man.' *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhai-perumakkaḷ*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are:—

Tiruveḷunnannūr	is Veḷinallūr in the Kottarakara taluk
Ādichchanallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakuḷam	is in the Nedumangad taluk
Muṭṭakkāyal	is probably Muṭṭakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīḻappērūr	is in the Chirayinkil taluk
Iḷaṅguḷam	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅguḷam	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunnummēl	the Kilimanur chief was known as 'Kunnummēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Kariviḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōḍu is in the Quilon taluk.
Tōṭṭamaṇ	

No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.

Text.[1]

1 കൊല്ലം ൭൱൰൧-മാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ൪ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു എ

2 ണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാക തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുള കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ കണക്ക[।*] കാരിമരുക ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളത്തെച്ചത്തു ചെരുപെരുംകു-

3 ളത്തു കുന്നുമ്മെൽ ഇളെയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവൎമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്ക ഒള്ള നാലതൊട്ടിന്നകം ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ൪൰൫ ൈ വിത്തുപ്പാട്ടും ഇതിന്നു ഇ-

4 രുകരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരെടങ്ങളും കരെക്കാട്ടും തൊട്ടമണും കരെക്കുടിപതിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഉഷപൂജവകെക്ക കൽപ്പിച്ച തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂ-

5 ർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻെറ തിരുനടെയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീരകോതവൎമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [॥*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēḍam in the Kollam year 711, the *tavaiyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnennūr in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperuṅguḷam of Iḷaṅguḷam-dēśam in Kārimarugu-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōdavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnummēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely—

the lands comprising many *taḍi* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *paṟa* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkāḍu, Tōṭṭamaṇ and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Eṇḍalayappaṉ of Tiruveḷunnannūr and the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōdavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.

Text.[2]

1 ൭൱൰൫ മാണ്ടു മിథുനമാസം ൪൰- തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാകെ തവെയാരിയർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇ-

2 രുന്തരുള കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ കണക്ക [।*] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതെൽനാട്ടിൽ ക്കരകുളം തെചത്തിന്നു കുന്നുമ്മെൽ ഇളെയടത്തു ശ്രീവിരകൊതെവൎമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്ക

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E,
2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3 ഒള്ള കരക്കുളം ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരെടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട തിരു
വെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻെറ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കമാറു കൽ
പ്പിച്ച തൊരണത്തരക വി-

4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താർ കൊയിക്കന്മികൾ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കൈ ഇന്നിലങ്ങൾക്കും പുരെയടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചെംപുകെട്ടി

5 ഇടങ്ങഴിയാൽ തന്ന പൊരുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭ ൭ ൫
പൈതാക [॥*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tavayāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in the presence of the god Eṇḍalayappan, wrote the following account:—

The lands in Karakuḷam-dēśam in the Mudel-nāḍu of Ādichchanallūr belonging to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vīra-Kōdaivarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnumēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely:

the lands of Karakkuḷam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr and a deed (*tōraṇataraguvilai-yōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkanmi*) to the god of the temple.

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *śembukaṭṭi-idaṅgaḷi* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was *7 para* and 5 *idaṅgaḷi* of good paddy as *karppūra-vila.*

No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

Text.[1]

1 തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ൬൱൯൰ മാണ്ടു കുംപഞായറു ൧൮ ചെന്ന
നാൾ ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതെൽനാട്ടിൽ കരിവിളെ ദെശത്തിന്ന കീഴപ്പെ-

2 ട്ടൂർ ശ്രീവീരകെരളരാമവൎമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികൾക്ക ഒള്ള ക
രിവിളെയും മെൽമണ്ണും ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊമ്മിന്നും കരപ്പുര-

3 ംപിന്നും കരപ്പുരെയടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ
ൻെറ തൊരണം വച്ച രക്ഷിക്കമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇതിന്ന എള്ളക കിഴക്ക

4 കരക്കുളത്തിന്നും പെടാതതു തെക്ക കടെലാത്തൊരണത്തിന്ന പെടാതതു പടി
ഞ്ഞായിറു മന്നെൻചിറെക്ക പെടാതതു വടക്ക കരിവിളെ എണ്ടലെ-

5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പെടാതതു ഇന്നാൽ എള്ളകെക്കെത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ
ത്തിക്ക ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെംപുകെട്ടിയ ൧ യാൻ തന്ന പൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-

6 ച്ച കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭ ൭ ൫ പൈതാക ശ്രീ [॥*]

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1 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

Translation.

In the 663rd year of the god Bhaṭṭāraka of Tiruveḷunnannūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vīra-KēraḷaRāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērur, namely:

Kariviḷe, Mēlmaṇ inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* (an arch of lamps) to god Eṇḍalayappaṉ in Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of these lands are (the following):

in the east, up to Karakuḷam,
in the south, up to the lands called the Kaḍelā-tōraṇa,
in the west, up to Mannenchiṟai, and
in the north, up to Eṇḍalayappān-kāvu in Kariviḷe.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *śembukaṭṭiya-paṟa* (copper *paṟa* of the temple) as *karppūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *paṟa* and 5 *iḍangaḻi* of good paddy.

Prosperity!

No. 19.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman of Kollam 793.

Text.[1]

1 [2] ൭ ൱൯൩ മാണ്ടു കുമ്പഞായറു ൮ ചെന്ന നാ‍ൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാ
ൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൻമാടത്തിംകൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാകെ തവെ
യാരിയർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന-

2 രുളിക്കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ കണക്ക [।*] മുട്ടെക്കായിൽ തെഛത്തു മെൽപ്പടി
എലായിൽ കീഴപ്പെരുർ സ്രീവീരകെരള രാമവമ്മെർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത
കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്ക ഒള്ള തടി പലവിനാൽ

3 നില:ം ൰ധ൭ വിത്തുപാട്ടം കൂട ‌തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ ഉഷ
പൂജെക്ക വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ച കൊട്ടത്താർ സ്രീവീരകെരളരാമവമ്മെർ
തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക-

4 ന്മികെൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [।*] ഇന്നില
ത്തിന്ന എളുക കിഴക്ക മുന്നിക്കുളത്തിൻെറ വരമ്പിന്ന പടിഞ്ഞായെറു
തെക്ക ഉമെയെല്ലൂർ തെവെരെടെ ചാന്തിനി-

5 ലത്തിന്ന വടക്ക പടിഞ്ഞായെറു ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്ക കിഴക്ക വടക്ക ഇടത്തുരു
ത്തുവരംപിന്ന തെക്ക ഇന്നാല്യ എള്ളുകെക്കകെത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവി
നാൽ നിലം ൰ധ൭-ം ഉഷപൂ-

6 ജെക്ക വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിച്ചകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ എ
ണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കൊയിക്കന്മികളൊം ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [॥*]

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1 Registered as No. 6 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.
2 A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record.

Translation.

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriyar* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in presence of god Eṇḍalaiyappan and wrote the following account after deliberation:-

The subordinates of Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr gave lands many *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *paṟa* of seed in Muṭṭakkāyil-ēḷāy in the same *dēśam* for the early morning worship of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of this land are:—

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūññikkuḷam tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *śānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallūr,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilañjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Iḍatturutti-paṟambu.

The temple officials of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *paṟa* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god.

No. 20.—A record dated in Kollam 878.

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*piḷḷar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues.

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaśchitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times; but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in

addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the[1] *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*[2] quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Dēśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *aḍukkuvaḍu* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was 'a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kāṇam* consideration, which a *kāṇamdār* had to pay to the *jenmi* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kāṇappāṭṭam* lease[3]. It also represented the small fee[4] of 10 *paṇam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nīṭṭu* or commission.

In this record Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana who had to pay 240 *paṇam* for the *prāyaśchittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i. e., 48 *paṇam*, and in exchange therefor set apart two bits of land each of one *paṟa* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually 7½ *paṟa* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *paṟa* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *aḍukkuvaḍu* fee was for the renewals of the *pāṭṭam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāṭṭanel*) on these lands.

Text.[5]

1 [6]൮൱൭൰൮ മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൧ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ചയും രോഹിണിയും പൂ
വ്വപ[ക്ഷ]ത്തു ത്രിതിയെയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെള്ളനെ-

2 ന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്കൽ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക
ഇരു[ന്നരു*]ള കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യോല കരണമാവിതു[।*]
തിരുവെള്ളനെന്തർ പ-

3 ട്ടരകരെടെ പിള്ളരെ ഇടമനെ ചങ്കരൻ കണ്ടൻ വെലൻ ചെയ്തതിന്നു
പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു രാചിപണം ൨൱൪൰ അട്ടകവത്തു
രാശി.

4 പണം ൪൰൮ കൂട രാശിപണം ൨൱൮൰൮ നും ചങ്കരൻ കണ്ടൻ തന്റെ
പടിഞ്ഞായിററു ചിറവൂര്ക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളനെന്തർ തെചത്തു കാളവയ
ലിൽ എലാ-

1 Madras Epigl. Report for 1918, and *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 327.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336.

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record.

5 ഩിൽ പുന്നിരിട്ടിറെയിൽകല്ലൊള്ള കണ്ടംതടി ൧ നാൽ നിലം ൧൯൦ അ
തിന്റ കിഴക്ക ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്റ കിഴട്ടത്ത വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ൧ നാൽ നി
ലം ൧൯൦ കൂട നി

6 ലം ൨൯൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതിവച്ച തന്ന ആണ്ടൊന്നിന്റ വരവെണ്ടും
പാട്ടനെൽ ൮൯൦ ഇ പണം ൨൮൮ന്നും ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെള്ളന്നെ
ന്നൂർ പട്ട-

7 കാരകെരെടെ ചെംപുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും ഉപെയനെൽ ൭൯൫൫ ഇ
ന്നെൽ ൭൯൫൫ യും പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതികൊടുത്താൻ ചംകരെൻ ക
ണ്ടെൻ തി-

8 രുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കന്നെൻ കന്നെന്റ
ഇമ്മാർക്കമെ [॥*]

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Iḍavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rōhiṇī-nakshatra and tritīyā-tithi of the first fortnight, the *tavayāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr wrote this *prāchchittayōla* (document relating to expiation).

The compensation which Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balamśey*) the servants of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr was 240 *rāśi-paṇam*, which together with 48 *rāśi-paṇam* for *aḍukkuvaḍu* amounted to 288 *paṇam*.

For this amount Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍaṉ gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *paṟa* (of paddy) in Punniraṭṭiraikkal of Veḷunnannūr-dēśam in Paḍijñāyaṟṟu-Chiravūrkkal and
one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *paṟa* (of paddy) situated near Āṭṭaṟakaṇḍam to the east of the above;
in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *paṟa* (of paddy seed):

and from the annual rent of 8 *paṟa* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *paṇam* to provide 7 *paṟa* and 5 *iḍaṅgaḻi* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Śembukaṭṭi* (measure) of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr to Kunnaṉ-Kunnaṉ of Maṇṇūr,[1] the *tavappoḍuvāḷ* of the same temple.

No. 21—A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.[2]

First side.

1 ൮൭൮ മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൧൭ ചെന്ന ചനിയാഴ്ച്ചയും അത്തവും പൂവ
പക്കത്തു ഏകാദെശിയും അന്ന അസ്തമിച്ച ധനരാചി കൊണ്ടു ഇടമെ

1 Kunnan-Kunnan of Maṇṇūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *poduvāḷ* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immārgamē*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 നെ പൊററിക്ക[1] സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊാം ചെംപിലായിത്തുരുത്തി
ക്കാട്ടു കിരുട്ടെൻ നാരായണെനും പുന്നക്കൽത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ
നാരായെണെ-

3 നും അയ്യെൻറ കണിക്കെൽ തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ നാരായെണെനും ചി-
റെക്കരെത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു നാരായെണൻ ചംകരെനും മാടപ്പെള്ളിൽ ചം-
കരെ-

4 ൻ കിരുട്ടനും കൂട തിരുവെല്ലന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പട്ടമി-
രുന്നു സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുത്തതിന്നു ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ ചെംപിലായി ഇന്നാ-

5 ർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൨൱൪൰ പുന്നെക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക സാക്ഷിക്കാ-
ണത്തിന്നു കൊടുത്ത രാചി ൬൰ അയ്യെൻറ കണിക്കെൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊ-
ടുത്ത

6 രാശിപണം ൪൰ ചിറക്കരെ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൪൰ മാട
പ്പെള്ളിൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൩൱൨൰ ഒരംവണ്ണം ജെന-
ത്തിലെവരു

7 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കറികെള്ളും കൊടുത്ത ശെഷം ഇട-
മനെ ഇന്നാർ തെവരെടെ നടെയിൽ വന്നു ദെവൻെറ സാക്ഷിക്കാണ-
ത്തിന്ന ൬ൈ ക്കണ്ടു-

8 ത്തിന്നു എഴുതിയ കരണവും നടെയിൽ വച്ചു സമുതായത്തിലെറെരെടെ
സാക്ഷിക്കാണത്തിന്നു പൊതുവാളിടെ കൈയ്യിൽ കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം
൩൨൰ ം വാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ദെ-

Second side.

9 വെൻറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും ദെവൻെറ നടെയിൽ വച്ചുകൊടുത്തിതു ഇടമനെ
ഇന്നാർ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും എടുത്തുക്കൊണ്ടു മണ്ണപത്തിൽ പിന്നെയും പട്ട-
മിരുന്നു ശ-

10 ംകു കൊട്ടി കുടിക്കാരിയം ചെയ്യുമാറ എന്നു കല്പിക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ജെനത്തി-
ലവെരു സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും സമുദായം ഉടെയ കാവുംപുറ-
ത്തു ഇന്നാരൊട്ടും

11 പിള്ളെളൊട്ടും പൊതുവാളൊട്ടും ചൊതിച്ചു സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും കൊടുത്തു
ശംകും കൊട്ടിതു മെൽപ്പടി തിയതി ദെവെൻെറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിക്ക എഴുതിയ
കണക്ക തിരുവെ-

1 The word *porri* (a class of brahman) comes from *porru* = to praise. It has been used in this ordinary significance in *Ācharakkovai*, v. 64—பிறப்பினர் போற்றி எனப்படுவார்.

12 ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യൊഗം തികെഞ്ഞു[1] ഇരുന്നു എഴുതിയ സാക്ഷി-
ക്കുറിയാവിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടമിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-

13 ാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-
വെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കുന്നെൻ കു-
ന്നെൻ പൊതുവാൾ

14 കുരംവണ്ണം കല്പിച്ച താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു . . . . .
ഇമ്മാക്ളമെ.

No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (=A. D. 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruveḷunnannūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkuvaṉ*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjugded by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *dēśam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ōlai* records relating to his transactions outside the *dēśam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kuñju-Pāvati(?), Kuñju being a pettish surname common in Malabar.

Text.[2]

1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കുഞ്ചുപാവതിയെന്ന തുലുക്കെനകത്തു
പുക .കട്ട മുക്കുവെനെ തമുതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തട്ടത്താ-

2 റെ അവെൻ ഒളിച്ചുപൊയ ചെഷം അവെൻെറ വസ്തുവകൊണ്ടു പൊന്നാ
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ചു തമുതായത്തിലെക്കു കൊടുത്തതിൻെറ ചെഷം അ
വെൻെറ

3 വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ ദെശത്തിനു അകത്തു ഒള്ള വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു
മുറികെളും ദെവെനു കൊടുത്തശെഷം അവൻെറ വീട്ടിയിനു കൊണ്ടു
പൊയ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruveḷunnannūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

4 ന്നും പാത്ത്രത്തിന്നും മററും പലവകെയായിട്ടു ഒള്ളതു എപ്പെർപ്പെട്ടതിന്നും
കൂടപ്പറെഞ്ഞു തീർന്ന അതിൻെറ അത്ഥവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു ദെശത്തി
ന്നു പുറഃത്താള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓലെ-

5 കള്ളും വൈപ്പിച്ചുംകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടും കൊട്ടത്തിളു ൮൱൩൯ മാണ്ടു കന്നിഞാ
യെറു ൨൰൬ന്നു- കൽപ്പിച്ചമെക്ക വെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ സമുതായത്തിലെവ
ർക്കും ജെനത്തിലെവർക്കും കൂടി നീ-

6 ട്ടെഴുത്തി വിട്ടകെന്ന തിരുവിള്ളമായ നീട്ടു[॥*]

Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kuñju-Pāvadi; but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēśam* and other documents relating to loans (*kaḍavāyppumuri*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēśam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kanni month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Veḷunnannūr.

No. 23—A record of Kollam 240 ?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram-nakshatra, and pañchami-tithi; but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* in the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of:

(i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made.

(ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇa*,

(iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose,

(iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question;

(v) certain regulations in regard to the land.

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record:

Tōraṇattaragu-vilayōla—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōraṇa* of lights had to be maintained in a temple; *tōraṇa* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service.

Eḷakoḷe[1]—The meaning of *eḷa* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *koḷa* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Eḷayum-koḷayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*eḷakoḷayum*'.

Śuraṅgam is a mistake for *śuṅgam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

Taragu which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'.

Text.[2]

First side.

1 ൨൱[൪]൰ മാണ്ടു മീനഞായററു ൰൨ ചെന്ന പുതെനാഴ്ച്ചയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ തിരുവെള്ളെ-

2 (വള്ളെ)[3]ന്നന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമുമ്പാക കൽപ്പിച്ച് എഴുതിയ തൊരണത്തരക വിലെയൊലക്കരണമാവിതു [।*] പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളന്നന്തൂർ തെചത്തിന തി-

3 രുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചു കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച് തൊരണത്തരകം എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെനും മണിയെ-

4 ൻ കണ്ടെനും കൂട തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കെ പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ ദെശത്തിന തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടി-

5 ലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും തൊരകം എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെൻ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെനൊടും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെനൊ-

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1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*: വാളും, തോളും, കണയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അങ്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, ആനയും, വാളും, വീരശൃംഖല, വ തള, വാദ്യം, നിയമവെടി, മെററിപ്പട്ടം, പടവീട, പരകംമുത്തു, മുന്നിൽ തെളി, and ചിരുതവിളി.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3 Cancel the syllables വള്ളെ which have been repeated.

6 ട്ടം കൂ[ട*] ഇമ്മാക്കമൈ [।*] ഇത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു എള്ളുക കിഴക്കു ആറെയിൽ
വെള്ളെകറെക്കു പെടാതത തെക്കുവാലുവച്ച കവലെക്കു പെടാതത്തു പ
ടിഞ്ഞായെറു കണ്ടായിക്കൊ-

7 ട്ടു തൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാതത വടക്കു പൊരയ്ക്കൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാതത്തു ഇന്നാല്യ എള്ളു
കെക്കകത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട തൊരണത്തിന്നകത്തു ഉള്ള എഴുകൊഴെയും[2] ചുര
ങ്കവും[3] തരകം കുടിപതി ഒരു പുരെ-

8 വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്നു
കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച അമിചങ്ങൾ കുടിപതിയൊടു ആണ്ടുവര
വും വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച ക-

9 ടിയരി ൧ ന്നു ൳ ന്നു ഇരട്ടിയാൽ നെല്ലു ൨ ൈ ൨ ൽ ൧ംമൈ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു
ആവണി സംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷുവിളക്കിന്നും കൂടനാഴി ൨ നൈ
യ്യും ൨ ൹ ൧ ൰ വിളക്കു തിരിയു-

Second side.

10 ം കൂട ആണ്ടുവരവും മെൽപ്പടി തെചത്തു കുടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കുടിപതിയൊടു
പററിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കുടിപതിയൊടു വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച
മെക്കു

11 ഇതിന്നു അറിവും താക്ഷി മഞ്ഞിപ്പുഴെ ഇന്നാരിന്നാരും പെരറയിൽ കൊവി
നൊൻ വിക്കിരമെന്നും ഇവർകെൾ അറിയ ഇത്തൊരണയൊല കൈ
എഴു-

12 തിയ കണക്കു കുററിക്കൊട്ടു രാമെൻ അയ്യെപ്പെൻ കൈ എഴുത്തു [।*] ഇമ്മു
ഞൊല്ലപ്പെട്ട തൊരണയൊല എഴുതിവച്ച കൊട്ടത്ത കണ്ടൻ കണ്ടെനും
മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെനും കൂട ഒപ്പു [॥*]

Translation.

On the 12th day expired of the month of Mīna of the (Kollam) year 240 corresponding to a Wednesday with Makayiram-nakshatra and pañchamī-tithi, the following deed relating to *tōrana-vila* was written up in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷuonannūr and in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan:

1 Engraved below the line.

2 Compare:

തൈക്കൊണ്ടു കൊണ്ടും
അരിപിടി പൊടിപാററി ക്കോഴവാങ്ങിച്ചുമേന്മേൽ
കരികളെ മഥനം ചെയ്യുത്തമാംഗജിച്ചിരുന്നു —*Umākēraḷam*, XVIII, 17.

and എഴയും കോഴയുമങ്കചുങ്കങ്ങളും
വാഴും നിങ്ങടെ രാജഭോഗങ്ങളും —*Pātracharitam.*

3 Probably ചുംകവും.

Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōraṇa-tāraṇu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇa*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēśam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr also had the document drawn up with Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan for the maintenance of the *tōraṇa* to Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēśam, (which was itself) in Padiññāṭṭu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōraṇa* are:
in the east, up to Veḷḷakkara in Arayil,
in the south, up to the crossing of roads,
in the west, up to the garden in Kaṇḍāyikkōḍu, and
in the north, up to Poraykkōḍu.

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in a year was 6¼ *iḍaṅgaḻi* of rice (*kuḍiyari*), which doubled will be 1 *para* 2½ *iḍaṅgaḻi* of paddy: and with this 2½ *nāḻi* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the Āvaṇi-saṅkrānti and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land.

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Mañjippuḻa, Gōvindan-Vikkiraman of Pereyil; and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kuṟṟikkāḍu, who wrote this *tōraṇa*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernacular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication; *viz*., Śrīvallabhangōdai and Māmbaḷḷi records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.

The original record must have been engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *pagarppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vaṭṭeḻuttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following:

(i) *ṇa* has generally been confused with *ṭe* to whose form it approximates, and this has given rise to the incorrect readings: தெவடெகொடனும் for தேவங் கோவனும் (*l.* 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுங் கரையும் (*l.* 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுங் (*l.* 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணிெயழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணிெயழுங்(ம்) (*l.* 25):

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (*l.* 53) ought to be read as படுகை (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballi plates of Kēralavarman); நடகாரம் (*l.* 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாள்வாள்ப் பி ன்றெவாள் (*l.* 13) must evidently be திருநாள்(நாள்)ப் பின்றெநாள்:

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pa* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீரஉதயமார்த்தாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீரதேவமார்த்தாணட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*; but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (*ll.* 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines; but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* =half a *nāḻi*:

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயச்சன் for உவச்சன் and பாதின்ற for ஊதின்ற (*l.* 10), அருள்வழி for ஆள்வழி (*l.* 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in *l.* 21 where நெல் கதூஅமை (1080 *paṟa* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட அயறயும்.

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible.

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Māmbaḷḷi record of king Vīra-Kēraḷavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*; and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

Iḷaṅgūṟu[1] has been been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḻunnaruḷiya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or *Yuvarāja* and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions'; *Iḷaṅgōkkūṟu* occurs in (*l.* 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Muḍukūṟu* in the Tirunelli plates.[2]

Rakshābhōgam (verb: *rakshichchu*) has been explained already,[3] as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities' to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpurushas* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rājabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

Pulari[4] is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *vaikarai*. According to *Tolkāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḻigai* was divided into six portions (*śiṟupoḻudu*) of ten *nāḻigai* each, beginning from sunset *viz.*, *mālai*, *yāmam*, *vaikarai*, *kālai*, *naṉpakal* and *eṟpāḍu*. *Eṟpāḍu* (*el* = sun + *pāḍu* = setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paḍiñjāṟu* (*jñāyaṟu* = sun + *paḍu* = setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*āṟu-kālapūjai*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*ushaḥpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Veḷḷalūr inscription also.

Uchchi is midnoon when the sun is at its zenith; and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

Attāḻam-tiruvamudu is the supper-offering to god. *Attāḻam* is compounded of *al* = darkness and *tāḻam* = descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trav. Archl. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr. Gundert gives the meaning of *iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḻchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 *cf.* புறக்கிழார்காடு முதுகூறு வாழுமவர், *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX., 290.

3 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரியே கானில் கன்றின்பின் என் இளஞ்சிங்கத்தைப் போக்கினேன் — *Periyāḻvār-Tirumoḻi*, and താരുംപോലെ പുലരിവന്നിതസ്സൂനതാതെ ചന്ദ്രസൂര്യ്യ — *Uṇṇunīli-sandēśam*.

at night time, as against *muttāḷam*, which though not similarily derivable means breakfast. *Attāḷapūjā* is god's worship conducted in temples at night after the evening ceremony of *dīpārādhana* and before *ardhajāma-pūjā*, which is also generally hurried through before 10 P. M. *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* are the two meals which constitute the daily dietary of an ordinary Malayalee.

Māḍambi is another term peculiar to Kēraḷa. It is composed of two words *māḍa* + *nambi* and connotes 'lord of a manor', *māḍam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambi* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. Māḍambimār[3] were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āṇḍukāḻcha*, *keṭṭuteṅgu*, *rakshābhōgam* etc. *Māḍattinkīḻil* is the name of one of the five Kshatriya families of Kēraḷa and *Māṭabhūpati* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called Māḍambimār to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

Tirumēṉikāvalkku-nilkum-piḷḷer (*l.* 24) is more correctly *tirumēṉikāvaṟku-niṟkum-piḷḷaigaḷ*. *Tirumēṉikāval* is the office of the temple watchman whose duty is to mount guard in the temple premises at nights and who is therefore responsible for the safety of the temple utensils etc. and of the god's images (*tirumēṉi*): on account of this duty, the watchman is also designated by that expression. *Piḷḷar* is the plural form of *Piḷḷai*, whereas in Tamil it will be *piḷḷaikaḷ* or *piḷḷaimār*. It was originally a title of distinction granted by the king on his henchmen as a mark of royal favour, but it is now the most common appellation of a Nayar in Travancore.

Kāḷam (*l.* 10) is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *kāhala* which means a trumpet (*tiṟuchchiṉṉam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples *cf.*, 'वीणाभेरिमृदङ्गकाहलकलागीतञ्च नृत्तं तथा'. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kākāḷam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

Vēṇāṭṭu-niḻal-manichchamāy-variṉṟa-āḷvaḻi-koḍuttu (*l.* 13) needs explanation. *Manichcham* is in the first place a *tadbhava* of *manushyam*, and is often used to express 'a servant or a subordinate' especially of a king. *Niḻal* which means 'shadow' is here the protecting shadow of a royal parasol and therefore of the king; (*cf.*, കുടക്കീഴ് വെച്ചവൻ = appointed by the king). *Vēṇāṭṭu-niḻal-manichcham*[4] thus refers to a subordinate officer of the Vēṇāḍu ruler; and the meaning of the whole expression is 'handing over to the individual who comes in the capacity of an official of the Vēṇāḍu king'.

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1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

2 *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* occur elsewhere in the sense of 'evening and morning offerings'.

3 മാടമ്പിമാരാലിടയുന്നതാം യുദ്ധമേതും നിലവാരം—*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*.

4 நிழலும் பணியும் and நிழல்மணக்களார் occur in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravi.—*Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kalippu munrōrāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the olai, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following: In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared:—

'சாந்திசெய்யுமவரை மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறார்' — Tirukkaḍittānam record.[2]

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression *'pariparirādar-varu-aratala'* and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus:

'பட்டாரகர்க்கொள்ள தொம்பின்னும் ஸ்ரீகோவில்க்கும் மொரொருத்தம் (?) வரும்போழ்தவிடெ கூடி நின்னு பரிபரிராதர் வரு இறதல்'—

Pariparirādar may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *aratalu* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyadu* and signifies 'what ought not to be'. The sentence may therefore mean that 'if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *ūrāḷmakkārar* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble'. The expression *ariyarudāde* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Morōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Vēṇāḍu, *viz.*,

No.	Name.	Text-line
1.	Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi	2, 34, 56.
2.	Vīra Adichchavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi	3.
3.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḷappērūr	14.
4.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammayāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi	16.
5.	Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḷappērūr	18.
6.	Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kēraḷaṉ-Ādichchavarmaṉ of Mullakkāl (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents, appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppāṛkkaḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 65.
2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 173 *et. seq.*

at Kiḷimāṉūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāmaṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ. That the Māmbaḷḷi plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēraḷavarmaṉ's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīrakēraḷapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tiruvalla plates[1] and the Kollūr-maḍam plates[2] are such examples, while the Āṟṟūr plate[3] of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, *viz.*, a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi was the *yuvarāja* or crown-prince (*iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḷunnaruḷiya*) at the time of that record, *i. e.*, in Kollam 343 (Mēsha 13, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāṇḍavarman was still the administrative head of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* according to the Tiruvāṭṭāṟu inscription, the date of the latter which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-maḍam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tiruvāyambāḍi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371[4], because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi[1]. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādichchavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Vēṇāḍu (*vēṇāḍu-vāḷnnaruḷiṉṟa*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamārttaṇḍavarman was the *yuvarāja* in charge of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* dominions. His

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p p. 46 *et. seq.*
2. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154, 8.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.
4. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48. Mr. T. K. Joseph, thinks with Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art.*, XXVI, p. 109) that *mānyayātmākshamāyāḥ* works out to Kollam 359.

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri[1] inscription it is learnt that Vīra Ravivarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakēraḷa[2] (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Ādityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēraḷaṉ-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *paṟa* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*iraṭṭaippēr*) of Kēraḷan-Ādityavarman, Kēraḷan represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Ādityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōḷapuram inscription[3] we know that Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was the Vēṇāḍu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Ādityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī, Vīra, Piḷḷaiyār* or *Tiruvaḍi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only his *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the [4]Suchindrum inscriptions Kōdai-Kēraḷavarman was on the Vēṇāḍu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vīra Kēraḷa, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhavi and Umaiyammai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vīra-Rāmavarmaṉ of Kīḷappērūr, who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āṉa*) is used here in *Umaiyammayāya* and *Mādhaviyāya* as a wrong substitute for *yin* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtamīputra and Vāsishṭīputra of the northern kings. Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammayāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi may refer to Rāmaṉ-Kēraḷavarman who was the successor of Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Rāmavarmaṉ, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kaḍinaṅguḷam[5] epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Rāmavarman, namely, Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi, the son of Rāṇi-Mādhavī, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record; but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōdai-Āvaṉiāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīḷappērūr and Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr. In the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258.
2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253.
3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17.
4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21.
5 *ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 69-70.

king is stated in full as Kīḻappērūr Vīra Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāṉa Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi[1], where the title *Āvaṇiyāṉa* has been considered to refer probably to Śravaṇa, the star of nativity of the king and Kīḻappērūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tiruppāppūr family also. If Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr is possibly identical with Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇi, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇi, as the common natal star 'Āvaṇi[2]' of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadaraṉ were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Māmbaḷḷi record of Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

First section.

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 343, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ-tiruvaḍi was administering (as heir-apparent) the *iḷaṅgūṟu* dominions of Vēṇāḍu and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppāṟkkaḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *bali*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kiḷimāṉūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Āḍichchavarmaṉ Tiruvaḍi who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmans or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmasvam* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were:

1. [Anantaṉ]-Kuṉṟaṉ of Puduvāḻkkasthānam from Paravūr,
2. Suvākaraṉ-Dāmōdaraṉ of Kūṟṟambaḷḷi from Mūḻikkaḷam,
3. [Śēndaṉ]-Dēvaṉ of Vāvukāḍu from Ayirāṇikkaḷam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam from Iruññāḍikkuḍal,
5. Dēvaṉ-Kōvaṉ of Kuḷaṉṉāḍu from Peruvaṇam,
6. Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śrīkumāraṉ of Piṇaññāḍu,

1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 74.

2 It may be noted that *Āvaṇi* is the name of Simha month and of the star Śarvishṭhā, not Śrāvaṇa.
மருவியகாசப்புள்ளுவகைக்களுள் பறவை புள்ளு
விரவு மாவணியவிட்டம்— *Chūḍāmaṇi*, v. 77.

7. Rudraṉ-Śaṅkaraṉ of Vañjippuḻai, a *Mādambi* from Cheṅgannūr,
8. Dāmōdaraṉ-Krishṇaṉ of Viḻakkilimaṅgalam from Tiruvallavāḻ,
9. Vikkirama-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Makiḻañjēri, a *Māḍambi*, and
10. Śatti Vikkiramaṉ – Śatti of Kamugañjēri from Āṟaṉmuḻa.

After setting apart lands in Parappunāḍu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kalam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative: and from the *rakshābhōgam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *paṟa* of paddy per year by the *paṟa* holding 10 *nāḻi* to the *uvachchan* blowing on the *kāḻam* (pipe).

100 *paṟa* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pullel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *paṟa* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *paḍagāram* lands of six *kalam* sowing capacity.

100 *paṟa* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīṟaḍichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Mēḍam and receipt obtained therefor.

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S.* II–173). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

Village.	*Tiruvalla Plates.*	*Kilimanur Record.*
Vāvukāḍu (Vēḻakāḍu)	Nārāyaṇan-Śēndan	Śēndan-Dēvan
Piṇaññāḍu	Kumaran-Śēndan	Nārāyaṇan-Śrīkumaran
Vilakkilimangalam	Kṛishṇan-Dēvan	Dāmōdiran-Kṛishṇan
Makiḻañjēri	Dēvan-Vikkiraman	Vikkiraman-Nārāyaṇan

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

Second section.

A second document states that the provision of 3 *paṟa* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:

1. from the lands and sites in Kārittumṟai, the fields called Iḍamaṉ and Āyiramaṉ in Nāvāikkaḷam and half of Neḍumpuram-paṟambu, which were given to Maṇikaṇṭham-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērur as freehold (*kārāḻma*), 360 *paṟa* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *paṟa* of good paddy per day;
2. the *bhaṇḍāra* paid 240 *achchu* on certain lands in Kaḍamba-nāḍu and Perumaṇṇūr belonging to Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammaiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr and from these lands 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured;
3. for another amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Paḷaikkuḷam, Neḍumaṉ in Koṭṭārakarai, Aṟṟuvāchchēri in Kāttāmattala and Periya-mummi in Paḷḷaikkal belonging to Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kīḻappērūr, 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured; and
4. for a third equal amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Karichchēy . . . . and Muṭṭakkāḍu belonging to Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr, 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured.

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *paṟa* of paddy, it was orderd that a daily dole of 3 *paṟa* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāḻi* of rice by the *iraṭṭamaḍai* (measure) of the temple; and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed:

Items of expenditure.	*nāḻi.*	*uri.*	
the *mēlśānti* (worshipping priest)	4	1	
one *kīḻśānti* (his assistant)	3	1	
another *kīḻśānti* (do)	3		
tirukkuḍa (umbrella-bearer;)	2		
śrībali and *vaiśvadēva* offerings	3	1	
morning (*pulari*) offerings	5		31 *nāḻi*+1 *uri*
midday (*uchchi*) offerings	21	1	
night (*attāḻam*) offerings	5		
	Total 48 *nāḻi*.		

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale:

	nāḻi.	*uri.*
the *vāriyaṉ*	5	
the flower supplier (*tiruppaḷḷittāyam*)	4	
the watchmen (*tirumāṇikāval*)	3	
the woman-servant (*tēvaḍichchi*) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers (*uvachchar*) who provided the seven items of service during *śrībali*, at 2 *nāḻi* + 1 *uri* each	17	1
Total	31	1

Third section.

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*aḍiyaṟa* or *pādakāṇṇikka*), from

	achchu.
the *mēlśānti-nambi*	2
the *kīḻśānti*	1
the *vāriyaṉ*	1
the *paḷḷiṭṭāyam*	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrāḷars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use.

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrāḷma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself.

The ten members (*ūrāḷars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turns for a term of one year:

		Name.	*Line.*
First year	1.	Śuvākaraṉ-Dāmōdaraṉ of Kūṟṟampaḷḷi	4, 31
	2.	Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śrīkumāraṉ of Piṇaññāḍu	5, 31
Second year	1.	Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam	5, 32
	2.	Dēvaṉ-Kōvaṉ of Kuḷaññāḍu	5, 32
Third year	1.	[Anantaṉ]-Kuṉṟaṉ of Puduvāḷkkasthānam	4, 32
	2.	[Śēṇḍan]-Dēvaṉ of Vāvukāḍu	5, 32
Fourth year	1.	Dāmōdiraṉ-Krishṇaṉ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6, 32
	2.	Śatti-Vikkiramaṉ of Kamukañjēri	7, 33
Fifth year	1.	Vikkiramaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Makiḻañjēri	6, 33
	2.	Rudraṉ-Śaṅkaraṉ of Vañjippuḷai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple mangement on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them.

Fifth section.

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *paṟa* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Śeṅgaḻunīr-maṅgalam, *viz.*,

Kīḻkuṇḍārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *paṟa* of seed and 3 *paṟa* of land in Mēkkāṇattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

Sixth section.

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple:—

Name of place.	*Capacity* *paṟa.*	*idaṅ.*	*Remarks.*
Eṇṇilam	11		
Toṭṭikkōḍu	5		
Maṇṇaḍi	7		
Taḍaṅṅōḍu	12		
Veṭṭikkōḍu	4		
Veṭṭiyattukaṇḍam	1	2½	
Perumbāravūr	1		
Śeṅgūṟu	10		
Seṟumāvēli	5		
Muṇḍakkal	3		
Śeṟukaḍamaṉ	1		
Kīrttimaṅgalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitrānandapuram plate.
Añjal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *paṟa* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarkanmis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlppādi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tiruppāṟkaḍal-bhaṭṭāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkshā* as in the word *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmal*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75¼ *paṟa*, the details relating to the balance of 31¾ *paṟa* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *ōlai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhaṇḍāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

Seventh section.

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ Tiruvaḍi and given as *kīḻśānti-virutti*:

Name of land.	*Capacity in paṟa.*	*Remarks.*
Āṉāḍu-jīvitam-Miḷiyūr	20	Āṉāḍu is a pakudi in Neḍumaṅgāḍ taluk.
Vembāykuṉṟam-jīvitam-Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk.
Neṟpāḍu-jīvitam-Kīḻmaṉa	10	
Land of Kaṇḍaṉ-Ravi of Mēlachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Āṉāḍu-Śeṟuvaḷa	10	
Total	70	

Eighth section.

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chiraiyūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēraḷan-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, namely,

Name of land.	*Capacity in paṟa.*
Aḍimayālakkōḍu	15
Mullakkal	50
Mēṭṭukkuḷi	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *paṟa* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikārar*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Maṇṭōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēlśānti-virutti*, 100 *paṟa* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

Ninth section.

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing:

Name.	*Remarks.*
Kāḍavakkuṭṭumala	
Iḷambela	This may be Iḷamba in Chirayinkīl Taluk.
Dēvaṉ-Ravi of Tiladamaṅgalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyur epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so.

The following additional proper names occur in the record:

Name of place.	*Text line.*	*Remarks.*
Āraṇmuḷa	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvalla taluk.
Āṟṟuvāchchēri	18	is in Kuḷakkaḍa-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Ayirāṇikuḷam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṅgaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Iruññādikkuḍal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Iruññalattūr		may be Irunnalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kaḍambanāḍu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumangad taluk.
Kamugañjēri	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchāyil in the Āvaṇavañjēri pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāṭṭāmattala	18	
Kīḷappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kiḷimāṉūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

Name of place.	*Text-line.*	*Remarks.*
Kīṟṟadīchchuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Koṭṭārakkarai	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line.
Kuḷaṅgāḍu	5	
Kunnalattūr	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kūṟṟambaḷḷi	4	
Makalañjēri	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.
Mēlachchēri		
Melkāṇattūr	35	
Miḷiyūr	52, 56	
Mūḷikkaḷam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk.
Mullakkal	58	
Muṇḍakkal		may be Mudākkal
Muṭṭakkāḍu	20	may be a mistake for Muṭṭakaḍam or Muṭṭākkaḍagam near Kilimānuur.
Nagarūr	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkaḷam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk: (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishṇava *divyadēśam* is in South Malabar).
Neḍumaṇ	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Neḍumpuram	15	is in Cheṭṭiviḷākam-pakudi of the Trivandrum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station.
Paḷaikkuḷam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Paḷaiyakuṉṟam, it is near Kilimanur.
Paḷḷikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Piṇaññāḍu	5	
Parappunāḍu	7	may be a mistake for Parappaṅgōḍ in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappanāḍu iṣ in Malabar.
Perumaṇṇūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Peruvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

Name of place.	*Text line.*	*Remarks.*
Pullel	11.	now called Pallayil in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Śeṅgaḻunīrmaṅgalam	34	occurs in the Māmbaḻḻi plate.
Tiladamaṅgalam	64	occurs in Kaviyūr inscription and in the Tiruvalla plates.
Tiruppāppūr	64	is a village 10 miles north of Trivandrum.
Tiruvallavāḻ	6	is the headquarters of Tiruvalla taluk.
Vañjipuḻa	6	is in the Kottarakarai taluk.
Vāraṇakkōṭṭam	5	
Vāvukāḍu	5	may be a mistake for Vēḻakāḍu of the Tiruvalla plates.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.

Text.[1]

First plate: second side.

1 கொல்லம் ௯௱௪௰௯ மாண்டெ[2] மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற மெடஞாயறு ப-ந்திரண்டு சென்ற வியாழமாண்ட உத்திரவும் பக்கம்[3] திரயோதசியும் இ-ந்நாளால் வெணாட்டு இளங்கூறு வாழுந்தருளிய

2 ஸ்ரீவீரதெவ[4]மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி கீழ் [5]மேசிலவிறு திட்டம் பண்-ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பால்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு [5]அமச்சிலவும் நிச்ச-னவிக்கும்[5] பிரம்மஸ்வத்தினும் கற்ப்பிச்ச பரி-

3 சாவிது [1*] ஷெடி திருக்கொவிக்கல் பிரம்மஸ்வத்தினு வெணுடு வாழுந்தருளி-ன்ற ஸ்ரீவீர ஆதிச்சவர்ம்ம திருவடி கற்ப்பிச்சு கொடுத்தருளிய கிளிமா-னூர் பூமியுங் காடும் கரயும் கரபுரயிடத்திடெ மாணி-

4 டெம்[7] ஷெடி முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊராழ்ம்மக்கு கொண்டபெர் வாயூர்க்கு[8]

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1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Read °மாண்டை.

3 The *paksha* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright'; *paksha* also means simply the *tithi*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய°.

5 Read perhaps கடசிலவிறு and கடச்சிலவும்.

6 Read நிச்சபலிக்கும் or நிச்சனடைக்கும்.

7 This may be a mistake for மாணியம்.

8 Read பறனூர்.

[1]புதுவாச்சதான ந்தங்குன்தனும் மூழிக்களத்தினு கூற்றம்பள்ளிச் சு-
பாகரங் தாமொதரனும் அயிராணிகளத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

5 [2]திராதங் தெவனும் யிருங்ஙாடிக்குடல்க்கு வாரணெகொட்டத்து தெவநா-
ராயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் [3]குலாங்ஙாட்டு தெவடெ[4] கொடனும்[5]
செங்ஙந்நூர்க்கு பெணங்ஙாடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

Second plate: first side.

6 ஷெ யாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெய் ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் திருவல்லா-
வாழ்க்கு விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து தாமொதிரங் கிருட்டனும் ஷெ யார் மாட-
ம்பிகளில் மகிழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும்

7 ஆறம்முளக்கு கமுகஞ்செரிக் கன்றி [6]விக்கிரமஞ்சத்தியும் [7]கூடய பெர் ப-
த்தினும் பொ ஒங்கினு நிலம் அறுகலமும் இதினடுத்த பரப்புநாட்டின்
செம்மெ[8] ஒள்ள காடும் கரயுடெ[9] காபுரயிடமும்

8 பெர் ஒங்கினு ஆணுள் ஒன்றும் பெண்ணுள் ஒன்றும் ஆகயில் [10]அறுபதிங்கல-
மும் ஆள் [11]ஒருபதும் நீக்கி ஒள்ள நிலம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-
ரயுடெ[12] கரெபுரயிடவும் ஆளும் கூட

9 கீழப்பெரூர் நாடெ வழியிடெம் முத்து[13] ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஒ-
ண்டாயிருந்நருளும் கொயிம்மாரு காராழ்ம்மயாக அதிகரிச்சுகொண்டு
ஈமுக்கால்வட்டத்தின்னு மெலி ரக்ஷாபொக-

10 மாக்கி [14]ராடிச்சமர்ந்து மாதெவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு காளம் [15]பாதின்ற [16]வயச்-
சன்னு ஆண்டு வரயும் கொடுப்பான் ஸம்மதிச்ச நெல் பதினழிப்பறயால்
நூறுபறயு(ம்)ங் கொடுந்து[17] இத்தொம்மும்

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1 This occurs again in line 32 as 'புதுவாக்கஷ்டானம்ந்தகுத்தனும்; but the correct word seems to be புதுவாக்கத்தானம்:அனந்தன் குன்றனும். புதுவாக்கஷ்டானம் may be புதுவாழ்க்கைஷ்டானம்.

2 The correct word for which திராதங் is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed; it may be செந்தன் and வாவுகாடு may be வேழகாடு.

3 This name occurs in line 32 as குனங்ஙாட்டு, which seems to be correct.

4 Read தெவங்: டெ in தெவடெ is evidently a misreading for ங் and has similarly been misread in several other places.

5 கொடனும் may more correctly be கொவனும்.

6 This is probably °செரிச் சத்திவிக்கிரமஞ் சத்தியும், compare line 33.

7 Read கூடிய.

8 It occurs also as செம்மெ in l. 30 of the Mamballi plates of Vīra Kēraḷavarman.

9 Read கரையும், *vide* note 6 above.

10 Read ஆகயில் அறுபதி.

11 Probably இருபதும்.

12 Read கரையுங்.

13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கடைவழியிடெ (= the temple thresold) படைமத்து or நாடுவாழியிடெ (= officer) யமத்து or நடவடியிடை (= country-custom).

14 Read ரட்சிச்சிருந்து.

15 Read அறின்ற.

16 Read உவச்சன்று.

17 Read கொடுத்து.

Second plate: second side.

11 அதிகரிச்சு கொள்விதாக கற்ப்பிச்சு [।*] கிளிமானூர் பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட
தின்ம[ெ*]மலும் அயிரூர் தெவர்க்கும் புல்லெல[ல்*]த் தெவர்க்கும் ஆ-
ண்டுவரயுங் கொடுக்கவெண்டு(ம்)ந் நெல் நூறுபறயும் இந்நிலம் [1]நடகாரம்

12 கொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற பெர் [2]வந்தும் அறுகலம் நிலத்தினு நால்ப்பதின்
பறெ [3]செதுநெல் கொடுத்து வருவிதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சு [।*] கிற்றடிச்சு
வரத்தின்னு கொடுக்கும் நெல் நூறுபறயும் ஆண்டுவரயும் மெடஞா-

13 யறு [4]திர்ந்நால்கடல் பட்டாரகர் திரு[வா]ள்[5][வா]ள்ப் பின்றெ[வா]ள்
வெணூட்டு நிழல் மணிச்சமாய் வரின்ற [6]அருள்வழி கொடுந்து குறியும்
கொண்டு[7] வருவிதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சிவிட மெல்லாம்[8] செயமீ ஓலெ
மெலெ-

14 ழுதி ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [॥*] ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத்து [9]நிச்சலவுட்க்கு
வெண்டுய நெல் மூந்நரப் பறக்கும்[10] கீழப்பெரூர் மணிகண்டம் மாதவி-
யாய பிள்ளெயார் திருவடிக்கு காராழ்ம்ம கொடுத்த காரித்தும[11]-

15 ய் பூமியும் புரயிடமும் மற்றிந் நாவரயிக்களத்தில் யிடெமண்ணும் ஆயிரப-
ண்ணு[12] மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் நெடும் [13]ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா-
தியும் கூடெ நிந்தஞ் [14]செவத்துவ னெல் ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக[16]

Third plate: first side.

16 ஓராண்டரல் கொடுப்பான் கற்ப்பிச்ச உ நாகூ௰௯[15]ம் [*।] ஷெ மணிக
ண்ட ஙுமய்யுமம்மெ[17] ஆய பிள்ளெயார் திருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள கீழப்பெரூர்
உடய கடம்பனூடும் பெருமண்ணூரும்

17 மற்று மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிம் மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடு-
த்த அச்சு யிருநூற்றி நால்ப்பதின்னும் [18]()சயந்துமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்
யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பது பறயும் [।*] ஷெ கீழப்பெரூர் கொதெ

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1 Read படகாரம்.

2 Probably பத்தும்.

3 Read செய்துநெல்(= good paddy).

4 Read திருப்பாற்கடல் as in other lines.

5 Read திருநாள் நாள் பின்றெ நாள்.

6 Read ஆள்வழிகொடுத்து.

7 This is expressed by a contraction.

8 There is some mistake here, it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவிதமெல்லாம் செயகட ஓலை.

9 This may be நிச்சல் நடச்சிலவுக்கு as in *l.* 15 of the Mamballi plate, or நிச்சல் சிலவுக்கு.

10 This ought to be மூன்றுப்பறக்கும் as in *l.* 21 below.

11 There is a mistake here.

12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்.

13 There is some mistake here; probably it is நெடும்புறம்.

14 Read நித்தஞ் செலுத்துவ.

15 பற is expressed by the symbol ௐ.

16 Read ஒருபறெச் செய்தாக.

17 Read மணிகண்ட ஙுமயம்மயாய; கீழப்பேரூர் உடய occurring after it, has perhaps to be taked before மணிகண்ட.

18 Read செலுத்துமாறு.

18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் ருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள பழைக்குளமுடெட[1] கொட்டகார-
க்கரை நெடுமண்ணும காட டமத்தல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிக்கல்
பெரிய [2]மும்மிக்கும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிம்மெலும்

19 பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடுத்த அச்சு உாசம் னும் [3]செதுமாறு க-
ற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்பது பறயும் [*।] திறப்பாப்பூர் தெவதா-
ன் ஆவணியாய பிள்ளயார் திருவடிக்குள்ள

20 கரிச்செவும் நாலுபறெத்தலுவும்[4] முட்டக்காடும்[5] இவயூர்கூடெ எப்பெர்ப்ப-
ட்டதிமெலும் பண்டாரத்தில நிந்நும் கொடுத்த அச்சு [6]ஒருநூற்றிநா-
ல்ப்பதின்னும் கொடுக்குமாறு

Third plate: second side.

21 கற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பது பறயும் [*।] கூடெ நெல் [7]கண்டஅயெ
யும் கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றின்னு நெல் முப்பறயால் அரி தெவர் இரட்ட-
மடயால் நால்ப்பத்தெண்ணாழி ஆவதும் மெற்ச்சாந்திக்கு அரி நாழி
உரியும்

22 கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்று அரி முந்நாழி [8]அரியும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்று அரி-
முந்நாழியும் ர்க்குடக்கு[9] அரி யிருநாழியும முச்செலெட[10] ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு
[11]வைச்சியதெயத்தின்னும் அரி முந்நாழி [8]அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமர்தினு

23 அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் உச்சக்கெ திருஅமர்தின்னு அரி யிருபத்தொருநாழி [8]அ-
ரியும் இரா அத்தாளத் திருஅமர்கின்னு அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் கூடெ அரி-
நால்பத்தெண்ணாழியும் நொாக இம்மாட்க்கமெ சிலவும் [12]சிலத்து வருவி-
தாகவும் [।*]

24 இதில் திருஅமர்து சிலவின்ற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி [8]அரியும் கொண்டு
வாரியனு அஞ்ஞாழி அரி சொறும் [13]திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தின்னு [14]நாலா-
ழி அரிசொறும் திருமெனிகாவல்க்கு நில்க்கும் பிள்ளெற்க்கு முந்நாழி
அரிச் சொறும் திரு-

25 அமர்தின்னு நெல் குத்துவிதும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பிதும்ஞ்[15] செயிவின்றெ
தெவடிச்சிகள்க்கு யிருந்நாழி அரிச் சொறும் திருவெலிக்கு [16]பணியெ-
ழுதும் கொட்டின்றெ [17]வயச்சகள் பெர் [எ]ழின்னும்

1 Read குளமுங்.

2 There is some misreading here.

3 Read செல்லுமாறு.

4 The correct name cannot be guessed.

5 Read இவையுங் or it may be குவையூருங்கூட as in p. 51 of *T. A. S.* Vol III.

6 Read இருநூற்றி.

7 Read தஅமெ.

8 Read உரியும், உ having been misread as அ.

9 திருக்குடைக்கு.

10 Read சிச்சல் (?) ஸ்ரீபெலிக்கும்.

11 Read வைச்சவதெவத்தின்னும் (Skt. வைஸ்வதேவ).

12 Read செலுத்தி.

13 Read திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு

14 Read நாழி.

15 Cancel ம்.

16 Read திருப்பலிக்கு பணிபெழுங்(ம்).

17 Read உவச்சகள்.

Fourth plate: first side.

26 பெரொன்றின்னு அரி யிருநாழி அரி[1] செங்ஙதாக பெர் எழின்னும் பதினெழு
நாழி [2]அரி ச்சொறும் கொடுத்து நொாவருவிது [||*]பெப்பு [2]கழிப்பு-
ற்ன்[பொ]ாண்டில் மெச்சாங்கி நம்பியிடெ

27 கொள்ளும் அச்சு இரண்டும் கிழ(ர்)ச்சாந்தியிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்று-
ம் வாரியனிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்றும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ[3] கொ-
ள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்னும் கூடெ அச்சு

28 அஞ்சும முன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடெவழியிடெ[4] மூவாண்டாயி கூடி சிரிகாரியம்
செயிவின்றெ கொயிம்மாரும் ஊராளரும் கூடி [5]தங்ஙரெஞ்ஞு வக கூலி-
யுடெ[6] கொள்ளாதெ

29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்சு பட்டாரக்கரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாத்திரத்தின்-
னும் அழிவின்னும் கொள்விதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சு [||*] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்-
டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சிது [||*]

30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகில் ஊராழ்ம்மயெ விட்டு பொவிதாகவும் [||*] பட்டா-
ர[கர்க்*] கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொவில்க்கும்[7] மொரொுத்தம் வ-
ரும்பொழ் தவிடெ கூடி நின்று

Fourth plate: second side.

31 [8]பரிபரிாதர் வரு அறதல [||*] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும் ஊராளரு பெர் கு-
ற்றம்பள்ளிச் சுவாகரன் தாமொதிரனும் பிணங்ஙாட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ-
குமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டு வாரணக்கொட்டத்து

32 தெவநாராயணனும் குளங்ஙாட்டு தெவடெ[9] கொடனும் மூன்றுமாண்டு பு-
துவாக்க ஸ்தானம்[10] நதகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு [11]திராதன் தெவனும்
நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து தாமொதிரன் கிருட்டனும்

33 கமுகஞ்செரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராய-
ணனும் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெ ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவு சிலத்-
தி இவர் ஒருத்தரிரில் மூத்தபுத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி-

34 வருவிதும்[12] [||*] ஸ்ரீவிரதெவ[13] மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி நகரூரில்
செங்ஙகழு[14] வீர்மங்ஙலத்து குமாரநாராயணனிட்டெ[15] விலயில் கொண்-
ட கிழ்க்காண்டொரவி[16] பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஷெடியில் முந்நாறுபற

1 Read உரிச்சொருக and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயர்ப்பு கழிப்பு or ஒப்புகழிப்பு மூன்றெ ஆண்டில்.

3 Read பள்ளித்தாமத்திடெ.

4 Probably நடவடியிடெ or நடுவொழியிடெ? as in *l.* 9 above.

5 This may perhaps be தங்ஙன்தங்ஙள் or தங்கள்க்கொள்ள as in *l.* 43 of the Mamballi plates.

6 Read கூலியிங்.

7 It is not possible to make this out; it may be முறைகுற்றம்.

8 This may probably be பரியரியாதெ வரு அருது.

9 Read தெவங் கொவனும்.

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 *ante*.

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 *ante*.

12 Read வருவிது or வருவதாகவும்.

13 Read ஸ்ரீவீர உதயமார்த்.

14 Read செங்ஙழுநீர்மங்.

15 Cancel ட்.

16 Probably கிழ்க்குண்டாரொடி.

35 நெல்லில் [1] கூறிக்கொடுத்த கரிக்கின்ற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பறெ வித்து
பாடும கூடெ நிலம் பதிமுப்பறெ வித்துபாடும் அதின்னு [2]நடும் காடும்

[இது — க முதல் ச வரை செம்பு பட்டயம் சம் கணடு எழுதியது][3]

[*Fifth plate missing.*]

Sixth plate: first side.

[4][ரு-மது பட்டயம் வங்நிட்டில்லா -கூ மது-]

46 நிலம் இடங்ஙாழியால் எழுந்நாழி வித்துபாடும் [5]எண்நிலம் பதினொருபற
வித்துபாடும் தொட்டிகொடு நிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் மண்ணடி
நிலம்

47 எழுபற இடங்ஙழியால் அஞ்ஞாழி வித்துபாடும் தடாங்ஙொடு நிலம் பந்திரு
பறெ வித்துபாடும் வெடடிக்கொடு நிலம் நால்ப்பறெ வித்துப்பாடும்
வெட்டியத்துகண்டம் ஒருபறெ இடங்ஙழியால் யிருநாழி

48 உரி வித்துபாடும் பெரும்பறயூர்[6] நிலம் ஒருபறெ வித்துபாடும் செங்கூறு நி-
லம் பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் செறுமாவெலிநிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபா-
டும் முண்டக்க நிலம் முப்பறெ வித்து பாடும் செறுகடமண்[7]

49 நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் கிர்த்திமங்ஙலம் பதிம்பறெ வித்துபாட்டிம் மெல்
பாட்டடெ[8] கொள்ளும் நெல் யிருபத்தொருபறயும் [9]அஞ்சளிகொள்ள
பூமியதினு அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும ஆக நிலம்

50 பதினாழி பறயால் ஒருநூற்றெழு பற வித்துபாடும் இவயூ[10] எல்லாற்றினும்
ஒள்ள காடும் கரயும் கரப்புரயிடவும் ஆளும் மிக்த குந்நலத்தூர் [11]கண்ட-
னுழ்த்திரனுடெ அதிகாரரு கொண்டுடய

1 Probably கூறுகொடுத்த[தி*] கரிக்கின்ற.

2 Read படும்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the cadjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெரும்பறவூர்.

7 செறுநெடுமண் occurs in *l.* 11 of the Mamballi plate of Virakēraḷavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in *l.* 57.

8 Read பாட்டக்.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ்சாவிவாரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்

11 Read கண்ட னுத்திரனுடெ

Sixth plate: second side.

51 தெரம்ம எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழப்பெரூர் திருப்பாற்கடல்ப்பட்டார-
கர்க்கு [1]தச்சிந்தரமாறு தெவரு கர்ம்மிகளொடு கூடா[2] விட்டுக் கொடுங்-
து[3] கீழிலயம்[4] பெர் மெல்ப்பாதியும விட்டி[5]

52 நிக்கி ஒள்ளது கொண்டு தச்சு பண்ணுமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒலயுய் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-
பண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [॥*]முந்நூற்றுநால்ப்பத்தொன்றுமாண்டெ சிங்-
ஙஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற நாள் ஆநாடு சிவித்ததில் [6]வக மிளியூர்[7]-

53 ப் பூமி யிருபதுபறெ வித்துபாடும் இதின்னு [8]நடுடெ காடும் கரயும் கரப்பு-
ரயிடமும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய் [9]கூன்றஞ் சிவிதத்தில் கண்ட-
மங்ஙலத்திளெக்கொள்ள தொம்முடெ காரியத்திம் மெடெ [10]ஆண்டு-

54 வரெ கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் நெற்பாடு சிவித்ததில் கிள்மனைக்கு ஒ-
ள்ள தொம்பிம்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல பதின்பறயும் மெல்ப்படியில்
மெலச்செரி கண்டன் இரவிக் கொள்ள தொம்பின்மமெல்

55 கொண்டுவரும் நெல பதின்பறயும் மெவூர்க்கொள்ள தொம்பின்ம்மெல் மெ-
ல்ப்படியில் கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் ஆளுட்டு செறுவலளகக்காத[11]-
ரன் தொம்மின்ம்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறெயும்

Seventh plate: first side.

56 ஆக் ஆண்டுவரயும் பதிளுழிப்பறயால் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் அய்ம்பதுபறெ-
ச் [12]செந்தும் வரு [13]மிளியூர் நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும் கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ[14] மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி-

57 க் கமெஞ்ச அதிகாரர் விலயில் கொண்டு கிடங்நம்மார்க்கமெ கீழப்பெரூர் தி-
ருப்பாற்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு சாந்திசெய்யும் [15]இரவியர் கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு
[16]நிரத்தியாக ஆசந்திரவர் கற்ப்பிச்சிது [॥*]முந்நூற்றுநாலா-

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1 Probably செலவின்னுமாற as in *l.* 72 of the Mamballi plates of Virakēraḷavarman; but it is not certain. It may also be *tachchu* (skt. *Dīkshā?*) as in *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmaḷ*.

2 Read கூடி.

3 Read கொடுத்து.

4 This is not clear; it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV.

5 Read விட்டுநீக்கி.

6 Read சிவிதத்தில்.

7 This occurs as வருமிளியூர் in line 56 below.

8 Read படுக்.

9 Read வெம்பாய்க்குன்றஞ்.

10 Read மெல் but the expression occurs in other places as தொம்மின்மெல்.

11 Probably செறுவலைக் கொன்ன.

12 அய்ம்பதுபறெச் செய்தும்.

13 This occurs as வகமிளியூர் in *l.* 52 above: but here it may be வெடிமிளியூர்.

14 Read வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்ட°.

15 Read இரு பியர் or இருவர்

16 Read விருத்தியாக.

58 மாண்டெ[1] மெடஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற-நாள்-முல்லக்கல் கெருளன் [2]ஆதிச்-
சவர்ம்மன் கீழ் கிளெ சிறெயூர்க்கலில் ஒற்றிகொண் டதிகரிக்கின்ற நிலம்
[3]அடிமயாலகொடு ந்தின்[4] அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் [5]மலெக்களில்

59 [6]மூந்நனந்நப்பெரூர் நிலம் அயிம்பது பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஷெயூர் [7]மெடுடெ
குணி நிலம் யிருபது பற வித்துபாடும் ஆகயில் [8]என்பத்தன்பறெ வித்-
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரயும் அதிகாரர்க்கு கொடுக்குமாறு

60 கற்பிச்ச நெல் பதி[ன]ழி பறயால் நாறுபறெ [9]செவதும் ஆண்டு வரயும்
தி[ரு*]ப்பார்க்குடல்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு மெச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்க்கு மெ-
ல்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு முன்னம் சிறெயூர்க்கலு

Seventh plate: second side.

61 மாருதூர் மண்டொடி மெடெ[10] கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்லினு [11]பகரம்நிரத்தி வக-
யிட்டு கொடுந்து[12] ஆண்டுவரயும் நெல நாறுபறயும் அளவு கொடுத்து
தெவரு கற்மமிகள் எழுத்தினல் குறியும் கொண்டு-

62 வருமாறும் இசிலவு ஒன்றுடெ[13] முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ
முட்டுகில முட்டிரட்டியும் தெண்டவும மூன்று முட்டுகில்[14] கெருளன்[2]
ஆதிச்ச-

63 வர்மமக்கொள்ள தொம்மு எண்பத்தயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரயும்
நெல் நாறுபறயும கொடுக்கவதும்[15] மெச்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு அளவு
கொள்ளுமாறும் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறும் கற்ப்பிச்சு ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில்

64 ஓலயும் எழுதி யிட்டிது [॥*] ௬[16] , ... டெ மிதுனஞாயறு காடவக்-
குட்டுமலக்கு மெலத்திலதமங்கலத்து தெவன் இரவிக்கு இளம்பெல
கொயிம்மாறொடு வளகு [17]நாவுடெ கயின்று

65 மொள்ள தொம்மு எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும்[18]

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1 Read மாண்டை as in other places.

2 Read கேரளன்.

3 The correct name is not known.

4 Read பதின் அயிம்பறெ which gives the total 85 *para* in the next line.

5 Read முல்லக்கலில் as in line 58.

6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.

7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி or மெடுக்குழி?

8 Read ஆகயில் எண்ப°.

9 நாறுபறெச் செய்தும்.

10 Read மருதூர் மண்டொடிமெல்.

11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'.

12 Read கொடுத்து.

13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடவை. It occurs also as துடை in the Vellani inscription (Vol. III, p. 36).

14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று; the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed.

15 Read perhaps கொடுக்கடவதும்.

16 The year has been left out.

17 This is unintelligble; காவுடெ may be a misreading for காடுகள். கயின்றெடு occurs in the Tiruvalla plates as a land-name.

18 The cadjan copy stops here.

No. 25—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu and relates to the construction of a shed at Pudūr for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *puraiyiḍam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamil language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.[1]

First face.

1 ஹரி ஸ்ருக [।*]
2 சிங்கத்தில் வியாழ-
3 ம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
4 அா[று]பிச ஒரு மார்க-
5 ழி மீம் உபிச சென்ற
6 புதனுச்சையும்
7 மகயிரமும் பூறுவ-
8 பக்ஷத்து திறையொ-
9 ாதெசியும் சுபபி-
10 றமாகித்தியோக-
11 மும் இந்நாளால்
12 புதுவூர்தெசத்து
13 சணக்கு தெவனிர-
14 வியும் பள்ளிச்-
15 சல் ஈச்சுவரன்
16 ஈச்சுவரனும் பெ-
17 ா[ல்லா]பிள்ளையா-
18 ன் பிள்ளையானும்
19 க்ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
20 ஊர் அம்பலம் கெ-
21 ட்டி முகிக்கையில் ெ-
22 சலும் குறைப்பணி-
23 யும் முகிச்சு தானப்பி-
24 றமாணமாக விட்டுகொடுத்த
25 நிலம்[।*] புதுவூர் தெ-
26 சத்து க்ஷெ குளத்தின்
27 கீழ் நீருண்டு ௨ விளை-
28 யு முருக்கறை தடி க ௨
29 கூ ப—யும் க்ஷெ கண்ட-
30 ச்சை குளத்தின்
31 [கீழ்] பிள்ளையான்
32 பிள்ளையான ஒற-
33 [த்த]ன் நா[ரா]யணன்

1 Registered No. 69 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

Second face.

[One line damaged].
34 கொண்ட
35 நடுவில் நிலம்
36 ௩ ப-க்கு எல்லை
37 ஆவிது [।*]உப்பு-
38 த்தறைககும் செ
39 ணம்ப[ர*]றைக்கும்
40 நடுவில் நிலம்
41 ௩பறைக்கும் [।*] மு
42 ளையடிக்கும்
43 நால்லெ[ல்*]ை-
44 க உழ்ப்பட்ட
45 நடுவில் நில-
46 ம் ௩ ப-யும் மு
47 ருக்கறை-தடி
48 க நீ நால்-
49 எல்லை உ-
50 ழ்ப்பட்ட நீ
51 ௩ ப-யும்ஆக-
52 த்தடி இரண்-
53 டினல் நிலம்
54 ௬ ப-யும் ஷெடி
55 அமபலத்து-
56 க்கு விட்டு குடி-
57 த்தா[ன்] நில-
58 ம் காடும்
59 கரையும்
60 முருக்க[றை]
61 விழாகம் உ-
62 [ட்ப்பட்ட] ந-
63 ரல்எல்லை
64 உழ்ப்பட்ட

Third face.

65 முருக்கறை விழாகம் பு-
66 ரையடம் மண்ணடங்-
67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-
68 ண்டினல் நிலம் ௬ப-யும்
69 முருக்கறை விழாகம்
70 புரயடம்மும்[।*] ஷெ-
71 யார் கெட்டி முகி-
72 ச்ச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-
73 ரனப்பிறமாணமா-
74 க நிலம் ௬ ப-யும் புை-
75 ரயடம் ஒன்றும் த-

76 ரனப் பிரமாணம-
77 ாக விட்டு கல்லும்
78 வெட்டி நாட்டிக்கு-
79 டுத்தார்கள் [।*] தெவன்
80 இரவி முதல் பெரும்
81 பள்ளிச்சல் ஈச்சு-
82 வரன் ஈச்சுவரனு-
83 ம் அய்யப்பன் மா-
84 டப்பன் முதல் பெ-
85 ரும் தானப்பிறமா-
86 ணமாக பிரமாங்கு-
87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெக்கு ஆக
88 நிக்கும் குற்றிமரம் ஒன்றுங்
89 கூட கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டி
90 க்குடுத்த . . [।*] . . .
91 க்கில் பொகிற . ண்டாம்
92 நிலமும் புரையிடமும்
93 யாவிச்சுக்கொண்டு த-
94 [ன்]மம் இறத்தினபடி த-
95 ண்ணிரும் [சுண்ணா] ம்பு-
96 ம் குடுத்து அம்பலத்தில்
97 . . . .

Fourth face.

98 சாவடியும்
99 கெட்டிப்பெ-
100 ணிவைச்சு-
101 கொண்டு இ-
102 ருக்கையில்
103 இந்நிலத்தினு-
104 ம் புரையிட-
105 த்தினு தடை-
106 இடைக்க
107 ருகில் ஷெதெ-
108 சத்து நாலு பெ-
109 பருக கூடி த-
110 டை தித்து குடு-
111 க்குமாறும் [।*] இ-
112 ந்நி[ல*]த்தினும் புரை-
113 ரயடத்தினும்
114 யாதா ஒருவ-
115 ர் ஆகிலும இர-
116 ண்டகம் நி[னை]-
117 னக்கி[ன்ற]·பேர் பெ-
118 கங்கைக்கரை-
119 யில் [நி]ன்று
120 காராம் ப-

121 சவைக்கெ[ா*]-
122 ன்ற தொழ-
123 ழும் [கைய்]செ·
124 யத்து கொ-
125 ள்ளுவாரா-
126 கவும் [।*]இப்ப-
127 டி தம்மதித்து
128 இந்நிலமும்
129 புரயடமு-
130 ம் தாணப்பி-
131 றமாணமா-
132 க கல்வெட்டி
133 நாட்டிக்குடு-
134 . . . .
135 . . . .

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *i. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaḷi in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight which had Mṛigaśīrsha-nakshatra and Subhabrahma-yōga, Dēvaṉ-Iravi, the accountant of Puduvūr, Īchchuvaraṉ of Paḷḷichchal and Pollāppiḷḷai *alias* Piḷḷaiyāṉ, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Puduvūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land:—

(i) The paddy-yielding land called Murukkaṟai fed by the tank in Puduvūr-dēśam, 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi*,

(ii) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* watered by Kaṇḍachchaikuḷam and obtained from Ōṟattaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ, the son of Piḷḷaiyāṉ, *i. e.*, the three *kuṟuṇi* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śeṉampaṟai.

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* and the land called the Murukkaṟai, which is 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi*: these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *nilam, kāḍu, kaṟai,* Murukkarai-viḷāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyiḍam* called the Murukkarai-viḷagam-puraiyiḍam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in two *taḍi* and Murukkaṟai-viḷāgam-puraiyiḍam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Dēvaṉ-Iravi, Īchchuvaraṉ-Īchchuvaraṉ of Paḷḷichchal, Ayyappaṉ-Māḍappaṉ and others also gave as charity the *kuṟṟi* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piramāṅguḷi.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyiḍam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunām and . . . . in a *chāvaḍi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyiḍam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *puraiyiḍam*, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Thus agreeing, these lands and *puraiyiḍam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up.

No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 628.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1096 M. E.—

"It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Veḷḷanāḍar and Veḷḷāḷar from times earlier than the ~~date of~~ the record *i. e.*, Kollam 628, Śittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangment of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Veḷḷāḷar against the Veḷḷanāḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Veḷḷanāḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamiḻ parts, that they should not be engaged even for cooly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation; and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Veḷḷanāḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍār* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz*, that the Veḷḷanāḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamiḻ country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Veḷḷanāḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Veḷḷāḷar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore."

A similar record exists at Kalliḍaikkurichchi in the Tinnevelly District.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] நன்றாக
2 கொல்லம் ௬௱௨௰௮-
3 டாமாண்டு சித்திரை
4 மாதம் ௯உ முன்-
5 னாள் நாட்டிய க-
6 ல்லு இரண்டி[லு]ம் வெ-

1 Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

7 ள்ளாழறை வெள்ளநாட-
8 ர் பிழைக்கையாலெ நாட்-
9 டிய கல்லினு படி எ-
10 டுத்தவுண்ணமெ இப்- -
11 பொது வெள்[ளா]ழறை வெ-
12 ள்ளநாடர் பிழக்கை -
13 யாலெ வெள்ளநாடர்
14 தமிழ்ப் பாகத்துப் பெண்-
15 ணை கெட்டருதென்றும்
16 கைய்யாளருதென்றும் ந-
17 ம்மொடுகூடக் கூ-
18 விச்செவகம் செவிக்-
19 கருதென்றும் காரண-
20 ப்பட அருதென்று-
21 ம் காரியம் புறைய
22 அருதென்[* று]ம் கணக்கெ-
23 ழுதருதென்றுந் தெச-
24 ம் கைய்யாள அரு-
25 தென்றும் கல்ப்பி-
26 ச்சு [||*] பிழைச்சவர்-.

Second face.

27 க்கு பெர்-
28 வழி பறு
29 வன ஙசுவ-
30 ங்கரனும்
31 அய்ய[ப்*]பன்
32 மாத்தாண்டனு-
33 ம் குமரன்
34 ராமனும் அ-
35 ய்யப்பா-
36 ண்டயும் மா-
37 த்தாண்ட மழ-
38 வராயனும்
39 [து]ம்பிச்சல்
40 மாத்தாண்ட ம-
41 ழவரா.யனும்
42 நம்பன் தொ-
43 ண்டைமானும்
44 செதொ மாத்தா-
45 ண்டபணிக்க-
46 னும் காரை கு-
47 ன்றனும் கொட்-
48 டூர் முதலியா-
49 னும் பர்ப்ப-
50 ன் பர்ப்பன் ம-
51 க்கள் இரண்டு

Third face.

52 பெரும் படைச்சு-
53 ல முத்தையானும்
54 மாலம்பி னிரப-
55 பர ஈச்சம்பி பெ-
56 ரூர் நாயர் அய்யன்
57 பாப்பனும் மாத்தாண-
58 டனும் ஆருசெம்பி-
59 பணிக்கனும் சடை-
60 யன் கொதையும் வ-
61 ளவன்(ன்) கண்ணனும்
62 இமி[க]ம் முருகனும்
63 தாவத்து இ[ராமனு]ம்
64 ஆகப்பெர் [௨௰௩]ம் கண்-
65 [ெ]டடத்து கொல்லுமாறு
66 கல்ப்பிச்சது [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Be it well ! On this day, the 9th of the month of *Śitti*-rai in the Kollam year 628, as the Veḷḷanāḍar offended the Veḷḷāḷar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Veḷḷanāḍar had offended the Veḷḷāḷar:—

The Veḷḷanāḍar should not marry girls from the Tamiḻ parts: neither should they keep them. They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us. They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.— . . . . . . Suvaṅgaraṉ; Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ, Kumāraṉ-Rāmaṉ, Ayyappāṇḍai, Mārttāṇ-da-Maḷavarāyaṉ, Tumbichcha-Mārttāṇḍa Maḷavarāyaṉ, Nambaṉ-Toṇḍaimāṉ, Śēdō Mārttāṇḍa-Paṇikkaṉ, Kārai-Kuṉṟaṉ, Kōṭṭur-Mudaliyaṉ, Parpaṉ; the two sons of Parpaṉ-Paḍiachchul-Muttaiyaṉ, Mālambi, Nirappara-Īchchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar, Ayyaṉ-Pappaṉ, Mārttāṇḍaṉ, Ārusembi-Paṇikkaṉ, Śaḍaiyan-Kōdai, Vaḷavaṉ-Kaṇ-ṇaṉ, Imigam-Murugaṉ, Tūvattu Irāmaṉ . . . . . .

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen.

No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Kēraḷapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttaḷakkuruchchi, a village of Paralkōṭṭu-dēśam in Śeṅgaḷunīr-vaḷanāḍu which was itself a sub-division of Teṉṉāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (=A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēraḷēśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēraḷapuram *alias* Muttaḷaikkuṟuchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēraḷavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; *i. e.*, in all probability, either of the two Vēṇāḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷapuram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (=A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulaśēkhara who constructed its *nālambalam*, kitchen and *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the Aṟṟūr plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēṭṭai-tirunāḷ) is known from his Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammai-Rāṇi, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam and the Kīḻapperur-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttūṇ* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* and the *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttūṇ*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevelly temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśēkhara and Chēramāṉ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive peirs. Kulaśēkhara, the staunch Vaishṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Vishṇu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Ṛishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Ṛishabha* is transformed into *iḷapa* and *iḻchapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *ḷa* for *sha* as in *śēḷam* for *śēsham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamiḻ rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ṛi*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *īśāna* which can reasonably change into *īyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēśam*, has here become *īyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kaṉṉi-mūlai*) of the *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nīlammaikuṭṭi, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Īchchakkuṭṭi, who belonged to the *mūttakuḍi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādēva at this village of Kēraḷapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṉ-Ayyappaṉ of Parakōḍu-dēśam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Śeṉbagamāttāṇḍakuṭṭi, daughter of Nallāṉpiḷḷaipeṟṟal of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāchchiyār of Vilavūr-dēśam, made on the same day.

A[1]

On the west base of the Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa.

1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் ௭௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்திரை மீ ௬ ௳
2 நயினார் முத்தளைக்குறிச்சியில் ஸ்ரீவிரகேரளச்சொரத்து[2] மா-
3 தேவர் கோயிலில் இழ்சபமண்டகத்தில் வடமேலைமூலையில்
4 சேர(ம்)மான்[3] பெருமாளும் சுந்தரப்பெருமாளும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

2 Read ஸ்ரீவிரகேரளேஸ்வரத்து.

3 Expressed by a symbol ௵.

5 உருத்தூண் செய்விச்ச ஷை மாதெவர்கொயிலில் தானக்கணக்கு-
6 டைய திருமுகமெழுத்து பரக்கொட்டு தெசத்து கணக்கு[1] அய்யன்[2] அய்யன் சதாசெவை [॥*]

B[3]

On the same base.

1 ௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்திரை ௯௨ நயினார் கெர(ா)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கன்-
3 னிமூலையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமாள்[5] உருதூண் செய்-
4 வித்த மாதெவர் கொயிலில் முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகள் நீலம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 ம் ஈச்சகுட்டி மகள் மாதம்மயும் சதாசெவை [॥*]

C[10]

On the east base of the same maṇḍapa.

1 ௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்திரை மீ ௯௨ கெரளபுரத்து இஷபமண்டகத்தில்
2 ஈயாந்த[4] மூலையில் இளையபெருமாள்[4] உருத்தூண்[6] ஷெ கொயிலில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு[7] அய்யப்பன்[1] அய்யப்பன் பெண்சாதி [8]சூசிந்திரமுடைய நயி-
னார்
4 கொயிலில் சிறப்பு[9] யிகல் நல்லாம்பிள்ளைப்பெற்றாள்
5 மகள் செம்பகமாத்தாண்டக்குட்டி செய்விச்சது ச(ா)தாசெவை ஊமி [॥*]

D[11]

On the same base.

1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் ௱௮௰௮ ௵
2 சித்திரை மீ ௯௨ நயினார் கெரளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்கிழக்கு மூ-
4 லையில் சிராமன் உருத்தூண் செய்வித்த விலஷூர்
5 தெசத்து வித்திருக்த நாச்சியார் மகள் நாச்சியார் சதாசெவை ஊமி [॥*]

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1 Expressed by a symbol க-க.

2 Epressed by a symbol.

3 This is registered as No. 55 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

4 It ought to be ஈசான.

5 Expressed by a symbol ரு.

6 „ உரு.

7 „ க்கு.

8 Read சுசீந்திரமுடைய.

9 The name சிறப்பு யிகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple *i.e*, for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple menial service.

10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

11 „ No. 58 of the same collection.

No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramān-Perumāḷ, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty[1]. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse[2] by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅgōḷūr called also Mahōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan, the overlord of Malai-nāḍu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōdaiyār also called by the significant title of Kaḻaṟiṟṟarivār[3] (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvañjaikkaḷam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship[4]. But when Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarmaṇ*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāṇabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction[5] to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protege. His devotion towards god Naṭarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

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1 यद्वंशचेरनृपतिर्मधुरापुरीशपत्रार्पणेन कनकं प्रददावसङ्ख्यम् ।
तत्तुन्नवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे निखिलराजकुलप्रदीपः ॥
Bālarāmabharatam, (*T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 109).

2 காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளூர்க்கோக் கழறிபவை யறிந்தகோச் சிலம்போசைக்கருத்தார்
காவலர்கோ னண்பரடிச் சேரனென்றே கவின்றுவரும் வண்ணானை நயந்தகோநற்
பாவலர்கோப் பாணபத் திரனுல் வாய்ந்த பரமர்திரு முகம்வாங்கிப் பணிகோவெற்பின்
மேவியகோ வானைக்குக் குதிரைவைத்த வீரர்கோ வெனையாளுஞ் சேரர்கோவே.
Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇa-sāram, v. 42.

3 சினத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்துயிர் கழறுஞ் சொற்க
ளனைத்தையு மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச் சேரமான்காண்.—*Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟ-purāṇam*.

4 சிலமிகுமலை நாடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோளூர், சிறந்த செங்கோற் கோதையார் செல்வர் திருவஞ்சையிறை மெல்லடி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யன்றவ முற.—*Tiruttoṇḍar-śatakam*.

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Padinōrāntirumuṟai*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*porśilambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*[1]. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Naṭarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramāṉ and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spellbound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Poṉvaṇṇattandādi*[2]. He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the head-quarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramāṉṟōḷaṉ', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvañjaikkaḷam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkōvai*[2] in honour of god Valmīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīḻvēḷūr, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumaṟaikkāḍu (Vēdāraṇyām), Paḻaṉam, Agaśtyaṉpaḷḷi, Kuḷagar-Koḍikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruvāppaṉūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tiruppaṟaṅguṉṟam, Kuṟṟālam, Kuṟumbalā, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchchuḻiyal, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṉavāyil, Pātāḷēśvaram, Tirukkaṇḍiyūr and Tiruvaiyyāṟu. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēśam and reached Koḍuṅgōḷūr, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tirumurugaṉpūṇḍi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉāṟ paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tiruppukkoḷiyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch[3] the

1 —நம்பற்கு
காற்சிலம்பின் சந்தணிந்த கண்ணியணிந்த தினக்
காற்சிலம்பு கேட்ட திருக்காதோனும். —*Tiruvārūr-ulā.*

2 This is collected in the *Padinōṟāntirumuṟai.*

3 களையாவுடலோடு சேரமானாரூரன்
விளையாமதமாறா வெள்ளானைமேல் கொள்ள. —*Kōyil-Tiruviṭaippā*, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind: Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramāṉ-Perumāl gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā*[1] (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māśattaṉār[2] who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

(i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;

(ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṟaṉmiṇḍar, Kōṭpuliyār, Māṉakkañjārar, Ēyarkōṉ-Kalikkāmaṉār, Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, and Sōmāśiyar, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;

(iii) the *Tiruviḷaiyādaṟpurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Bāṇabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and

(iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramāṉ rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇapperumāl, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumuṟai*.

2 *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion[1]. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed[2] to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṉ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Īśo and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṉ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṉ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, one of the *Ashṭavīraṭṭāṇams* and *Saptasthānams*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyāṟu in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanādēśvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease[3]. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr in the Cheṅgaṉṉūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kēraḷa and to have been constructed by Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ[4] himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources[5] that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṉmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śeṅgōṟporaiyaṉ who was ruling at Koḍuṅgōḷūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Saiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgōṟporaiyaṉ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poṟaiyaṉ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 *et seq*.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 *Chēramāṉ-Perumāṇāyaṉār-purāṇam*, *vv*. 130-9.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 508.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Kōdai being but synonymous with Chēra; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two Chēra kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya contemporaries of Chēramāṉ are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Vaḷavaṉ* and *Teṉṉavaṉ*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the Nāyaṉmār contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that Sundara is mentioned to have been the *protege* of a certain Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ, the chief of Milāḍu, who had his headquarters at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot District, and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pallava king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the Tirunāvalūr and Tirukkōyilūr inscriptions a few generations of Milāḍu chiefs with names Narasimha and Rāma are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as Sundara's patron.[2] The reference to the Pallava also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of Dantivarman (780-830) in whose later years Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam was invaded from the north by Gōvinda III (804) and on the south by the Pāṇḍya, Varaguṇa Mahārāja[3] (825).

(iii) The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal-purāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god Chokkanātha of Madura places in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viṟagu-viṟṟa-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugām-koḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture Ēmanātha the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard Bhadra, and the latter's deputation to a Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ of Koduṅgōḷūr with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by Parañjōtiyār is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of Bhadra in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king who has the name of Varaguṇa is consistent with the above suppositions relating to Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ and Sundara. We know from reliable sources that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, the grandson of Jaṭila-Parāntaka (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this Pāṇḍya sovereign was a devout Śaiva (bhakta), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming Chēramāṉ to have been this Pāṇḍya's contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Bāṇa-Bhadra episode is also referred to in the *Kallāḍam*; but

1 There have been kings with these names –
Kuṭṭuvaṉ-Kōdai, Mākkodai, Irumboṟai, (*Puṟanāṉūṟu*) and Kaṇṇaṉ-Poṟaiyaṉ (*T. A. S* Vol. III).

2 *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3. *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4 மன்றலந் தெரியல் மார்பன் வரகுணன் செங்கோலோச்சி
பொன்றலங் காவலானிற் பொலியு நாளேமநாதன் . . . . —*Viṟaguviṟṟa-paḍalam.*
மன்னர்தம்பிரானாகிய வரகுணதேவன்
றன்னை வந்தடிபணிந்தன்றந்திறங்கிழவோன்.— *ibid*, v. 58.

as its author Kallāḍaṉār[1] is, on other grounds,[2] considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṉ to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigaṉ[3] and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ of the *Periyapurāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse[4] popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṉ could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujanga*, *Śivānandalaharī* and *Saundaryalaharī* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhāsyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the Śivabhujaṅga[5] may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Ēyarkōṉ-Kalikkāmaṉāyaṉār, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvoṟṟiyūr episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ-Nāyaṉār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājaśēkhara[6] of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

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1 பரிபுரக்கம்பலை யிருசெவியுண்ணும், குடக்கோச்சேரன் கிடைத்தி துகாண்கென, மதிமலிபுரிசைத் தி ருமுகங்கூறி, பன்புருத்தறித்த வின்பிசைப்பாணன், பெறநிதிகொடுக்கென வுறவிடுத்தருளிய, மா தவர் வழுத்துங் கூடற் கிறைவன் *Kallāḍam*, v. 11. *ll.* 25-30

2 *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. XV, p. 107-14.

3 அரும்பார் சோலை சுரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அதிகனில்லிடை அதிகமான் வளர்த்தான் —*Kapilar-agaval.* but this Kapilar is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதுரமொழியி னுமையாள் சிறுவன் மலரடியை
முதிரநினையவல்லார்க்கரிதோ முகில் போன் முழங்கி
அதிரவருகின்ற யானையுந் தேருமதன் பின்வருங்
குதிரையுங் காதங் கிழவியுங் காதங் குலமன்னனே.

5 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।
तदा हि प्रसन्नोऽसि कस्यापि कान्तासुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Śivabhujangam*, v.
In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Iyarpagai-Nāyaṉār was intended.

6 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as Śeṉṉittalaiaḍigaḷ Rājaśēkharaṉ,[1] which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Seṉṉittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*[2].

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words '*Namaś-śivāya*'[3] in place of the almost universal '*Svasti-śrī*', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The palæography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṉār and his friend Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājaśēkhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijarāga-dēva were known in the records of those districts as *Chēramāṉ* Kōttāṇu-Ravi and *Chēramāṉ* Vijayarāgadēva.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* that a Kērala king called Rājaśēkhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadgururatnamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmēndra of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *saṭṭaka* which Rājaśēkhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Viddhaśālabhañjika*, *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājaśēkhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kērala king Rājaśēkhara with the nothern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkaravijaya* statement that a Kērala king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if Mādhavāchārya was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L, has, in a learned article in Malayalam[4] attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājaśēkhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulaśēkharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* and *Subhadrādhanañjayam* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchhinnābhhishēka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kērala king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājakēsarivarman or Māṟavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājarāja-Paramēsvara-Bhaṭṭāraka-*Rājaśēkhara-dēva*, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namaśśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulaśēkhara, the author of the

1 *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 178.
2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.
3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II.
4 *Bhāshāpōshiṇi* for 1917.

Mükundamālā and the *Tirumoḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishṇu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājaśēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ[1] (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirunoḍittāṉmalai-padigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வரமலிவாணன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதோர்
சிரமலியானை தந்தானொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(*v*. 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *padigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்துவான், ஊனுயிர்வேறுசெய்தான் (*v*. 1)
தொண்டனேனை, யந்தரமால் விசும்பிலழகானையருள் புரிந்த (*v*. 3)
வானகன்னாடர் முன்னை, துஞ்சுதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனேன்பரமல்ல-
தொரு, வெஞ்சினவானை தந்தான் நொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (*v*. 6)
இந்திரன் மாலபிரமன்னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
வந்தெதிர்கொள்ளவென்னை மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து (*v*. 9)

Vāṇaṉ though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaṉ is also a contraction of the word *vāḻnaṉ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivāṇaṉ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *padigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvaḷḷuvar contained in the *Tirukkailāya-jñāna-ula* as *paṇḍaiyōr* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(*a*) கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற்றறியுமைம்புலனு
மொண்டொடிகண்ணேயுளவென்று— பண்டையோர்கட்டுரையை.

(*b*) இல்லாரை யெல்லாருமெள்குவார் செல்வரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வர் சிறப்பென்னுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

and that he directed god Varuṇa whom he has addressed as 'ஆழிகடலரையாவஞ்சையப்பர்க்கறிவிப்பதே' in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Añjaikkaḷattappar in the last verse and from the description of Noḍittāṉmalai in verse 7 that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

> அலைகடலாலரையனலர் கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்
> உலையணையாதவண்ணநொடித்தான்மலையுத்தமனே—(*v.* 7)

one is tempted to locate Noḍittāṉmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Añjaikkaḷam and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. 'ஆழிகடலரையா' may have been used as an epithet of Añjaikkaḷam that has elsewhere been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kaḍal* + *araiyaṉ*)? Kailāsanatha's temples are very common in many places and the hill Noḍittāṉmalai, wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sundara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tirunoḍittāṉmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the supernatural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā* of Chēramāṉ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva, who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil* = temple?) at Śivapuram[2]. The large number of the *āgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him an inconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: *chūḷamaṇi*, *paṭṭam*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *kaṇḍigai*, *channavīram*, *kēyūram*, *udarabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṅkaṇam*, *vāchikai*, *kiṅkiṇi*, *mēkhalā*, *hāra* and *jaṭāmakuṭa* among ornaments and *jhallari*, *bhēri*, *karatāḷam*, *maddaḷa* and *dundubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār may, with advantage, be appended here, becuase he was an early king of the Chēra house of Malai-maṇḍalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces its descent from him.

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1 Compare: சந்தித்தடமால்வரைபோற்றிரைகடணியாதிடறுங்கடலங்கரைமே
லந்தித்தலைச்செக்கர்வானேயொத்தியாலணியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 3).
and மழைக்கு நிகரொப்பனவன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம் புரிகொண்
டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையணியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 4).

2 சேரர்சிவலோகத்தன்னுட் சிவபுரத்திலோரர் திருக்கோயிலுன்னிருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyajñānaulā.*

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivapērūr (Trichur) is called Vaḍakkunnātha of the Vṛishabhādri Hill.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*[1] of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*[2] of Piṉpaḻagiya-Perumāḷ-Jīyar (14th century), *Upadēsaratnamālā* of Maṇavāḷamāmuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumuḍi-aḍaivu* of Kandāḍaiyappaṉ (14th century) and a few other later Vaishṇava works, which furnish certain traditionary landmarks in the life of Kulaśēkhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vañji (Tiruvañjaikkuḷam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,[3] corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,[4] on the Thursday of the month of Māśi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Vishṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dridhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulaśēkhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprasta's* life, and the new king Kulaśēkhara ascended the ancient Chēra throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Vishṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaishṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Rāvaṇa carried away the helpless Sīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshall out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor[5]. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaishṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the strategem did not work, as Kulaśēkhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaishṇavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूच्चेरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः ।
मह्रीपातर्माघपुनर्वसूद्यह्निने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasūricharitam.*

3 சேரன் குலசேகரராய்க்கொண்டு க்ஷத்ரியவர்ணத்திலே மாசிமாஸத்தில் புனர்பூசநக்ஷத்ரத்தில் வந்தவதரித்தார் —*Piṉpaḻagiyaperumāḷ Jīyar.*

4 கலி 28 ம்வருஷம் பராபவவருஷம் மாசிமீ சுக்லத்வாதசி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை கூடின புனர்வஸு நக்ஷத்ரம் —*Guruparamparāprabhāvam.*

4 वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके ।
श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥
कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम् । *Prapannāmṛitam.*

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्स्मृत श्री.
रामात्मभावसहितस्सगृहीतखड्गः ।
रामायणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-
स्सिन्धुं विवेश कुलशेखरभूमिपो यः ॥ —*Bālarāmabharatam* (T. A. S. IV, p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.[1] The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Dridhavrata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyiloḻugu*[2] to the effect that after Kali year 50, Kulaśēkara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa, married his daughter Śōḷakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the Sēṇaiveṉṟāṉ-maṇḍapa and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the Kulaśēkharaṉ-tiruvīdi. He then visited the holy Vaishṇava temples of Tiruvēṅgaḍam, Tiruvayōdhyā, Tillai-Chitrakūṭam, Tirukkaṇṇapuram, Tirumāliruñjōlai and Tiruviṟṟuvakkōḍu and finally settled down at Brahmadēśam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammāḻvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven.

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versons of the life of the Āḻvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulaśēkhara's period are Nammāḻvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukkūr on the one hand, and Tirumangaimaṉṉaṉ, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaishṇava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Āḻvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I[3] (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēṭṭarundiral* (the second *Tirumoḻi*) in the Śrīraṅgam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōḷa-Kēraḷadēva[3] (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Āḻvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulaśēkhara from a determination of the time of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār,[4] who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830)and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammāḻvār,[5] his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulaśēkhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாம்பிலங்கையிட்டான் வாழியே.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401; but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1900 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tiruneḍunḍāṇḍakam*.

4 *Tamiḻ varalāṟu*, p. 128.

5 *History of Vaishṇavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion[1] that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by restrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulaśēkhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*[2] which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pàllava king of Mallai (Mahāmallapuram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araiśūr in Toṇḍai-nāḍu,[3] Kulaśēkhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulaśēkhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Śendamiḻ*[4] has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sāṟṟukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the Āḻvārs need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyiraprabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi,* the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervarding the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Vēṅgaḍam[5] cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulaśēkhara of a muderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulaśēkhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumoḻi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sāṟṟukkavis* of the *Prabandham,* it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumoḻi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 மல்லைமாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னை
வான் செலுத்தி வந்திங்கணை மாயத்து
எல்லையில் பிள்ளை செய்வன காணாத்
தெய்வத் தேவகி புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லிகாவலன் மாலடிமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
நல்லிசைத்தமிழ் மாலைவல்லார்கள்
நண்ணுவார் ஒல்லைநாரணனுலகே —*Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*, VII. 11.

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*, IV, 2.

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almostly jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Krishṇa which was denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Krishṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Krishṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvardhanagiri, Vrishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtanā, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kaṁsa himself; and the Āḻvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Krishṇa on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmallapuram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kaṁsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagaram = the prosperous city—of athletes?)[1]. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulaśēkhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai (மல்லைமாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னைவான் செலுத்திவந்தீங்கணை) has to be taken to qualify the *incomparable Divine child*[6] (மாயத்து எல்லையில் பிள்ளை) rather than Kulaśēkhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Krishṇa actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணனே! . . . இளமையின்பத்தை இன்று என்தன் கண்ணாற்பருகுவேற்கு இவன் தாயென நினைந்த அளவில்! If ஈங்கணை should refer to Kulaśēkhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Krishṇa in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Krishṇa's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kaṇṇapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Viṟṟuvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoḻi* or Daśaratha's Lament[2] is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Piḷḷaipperumāḷ Ayyangār makes use of the pun on the word *Mallai* = athletes and *Mahāmalla*-puram in the verse:
செறிந்தபணைபலித்துத் திண்களிற்றைச் சாடி
முறிந்துவிழப்பாகனையுமோதி—யெறிந்து
தருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குமைத்தான்றஞ்சமென்று நெஞ்சே
திருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குட்டிரி
—*Nuṟṟettutiruppati-andādi*, v. 93.
But Kulaśēkhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

2 ஏரார்ந்தகருநெடுமால்ராமனாய்
வனம்புக்க அதனுக்கு ஆற்றா
தாரார்ந்த தடவரைத்தோள் தயரதன் தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புலம்பல் தன்னை
கூரார்ந்த வேல் வலவன் கோழியர் கோன்
குடைக் குலசேகரன் சொற்செய்த
சீரார்ந்த தமிழ்மாலை இவை வல்லார்
தீநெறிக்கண் செல்லார்தாமே
—*Tirumoḻi*, IX. 11.

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulaśēkhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வாளா௦சதுத்தி) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Gudimallam and Tiruchchānūr[1].

From the *Travancore State Manual*[2] we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruviḷakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhishṭiravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi *alias* Śrīkaṇṭha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*[3] has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other *kāvya* called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses[4] of the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* in the Kāvyamālā Series, No. 60.

काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव अस्योपरि काश्मीरिकराजानकरत्नकण्ठकृतैव व्याख्या समुपलब्धा ॥

4 अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुगजराजगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवन्ति जन्य यादियमधिकंकवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्ये देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणश्शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśēkhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmī and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmans, who was called a *tilaka* (by pandits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvyas*, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishṭhira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulaśēkharavarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions :—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकगीतौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pāraśava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author[1]. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishṭhiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi[2]; and its commentator, a certain Nīlakaṇṭha (*c.* 13th century) has also identified this रविभूः with Vāsudēva himself[3]. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulaśēkhera's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Toṇḍeraḍippoḍi and the *pāṇaṉ* Tiruppāṇāḻvār; and quote also 'அடிப்பாடி அரங்காவோ! என்றழைக்கும் தொண்டரடிப்பொடி, ஆடகம் பெறில் கங்கைநீர் குடைந்தாடும் வேட்கை என்னுவதே (II, 3) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपद्मचरावभूताम् and *Brihatstotra-muktāhāra* has कविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपार्श्वचरावभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् —*Tripuradahanam.*

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिदानः ।
निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥ —Nīlakaṇṭha's *commentary*

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulaśēkhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoḻi*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśēkhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*[1] and *Subhadrādhanañjayam*[2] published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulaśēkharavarman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahōdayapura, (Koḍuṅgōḷur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Āścharyamañjarī*[3]. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Vishṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharaṭavākya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has deen drawn by scholars[4] that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśēkhara were identical; and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśēkhara who was later on canonised as an Āḻvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājaśēkhara,[5] who may be the same as the author of *Bālarāmayaṇam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśēkhara's *Āścharyamañjarī*; and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avantivarman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kāḷidāsa, Harsha and Daṇḍin to whom Kulaśēkhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśēkhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i. e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळचूडामणेर्महोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

2 तपतीसंवरणघटनापटुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराशिपेशलकैदारिककेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्धनमद्य बध्नाति बुधहृदयम् । —*Subhadrādhanañjayam.*

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपंकेरुहपांसुपटलपवित्रीकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधघनायान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलद् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

4 Introduction to the Tapatisamvaraṇam in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series.*
Archæological Report for 1096 M. E.
Bhāshāpōshiṇi for 1917.

5 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥ —Rājaśēkhara in *Sūktimuktāvaḷī.*

6 शूद्रककालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिदं निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*[1] considered to have been made by Sumati (?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-mangalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśēkhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyangyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested[2] that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyangyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśēkhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

ध्वनियुक्तकाव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।
एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥,

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyālōka viz.*, काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः । ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* occurs a verse[3] where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds coolnectarrays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālajalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi-maṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, Akālajalada can be taken to be a synonym for Akālavarsha, we know that it was a title borne by three Rāshṭrakūta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. *viz.*, Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 750), Kṛishṇa II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthāṇu-Ravi and the Chōḷa Aditya, and Krishna III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōdai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-maṇḍalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthāṇu-Ravi or of Chōḷa Āditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōḷas (*Solar* dynasty) by Kṛishṇa III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōḷa prince Rāj-āditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.[4] If the first significance was intended, Kulaśēkhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, p. 4.

2 *Bhāshāpōshiṇi*, for 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीयानांशुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भोः सौदमनीवल्लभ!
लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्तं कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां कन्धरां द्राघयन्तम् ।
त्वं प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूर्मेघ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ – V. 11.

4 *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 229.

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Sthāṇu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulaśēkhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Āḷvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Kṛishṇa II—Akālavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōdaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgadēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āditya I at the end of the 9th century. Sthāṇu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āditya I, and princess Nīlī, the daughter of Vijayarāgadēva who must have succeeded Sthāṇu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōkkiḷānaḍigaḷ, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulaśēkhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājaśēkhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āścharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājaśēkhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyālōka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulaśēkhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphzard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulaśēkhara anterior to Indu-Kōdaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgadēva was a certain Kulaśēkharadēva and it is

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.
2 ,, Vol. III, p. 162.
3 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.
4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.
5 *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 141.
6 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśēkhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name.	Approximate dates.
Rājaśēkharadēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara)	800-825
Kulaśēkharavarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, (the author of *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoḻi*)	825-850
Rāma (of *Tripuradchana Śaurikathōdaya* and *Nalōdaya*)	850-870
Sthāṇu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870-900
Vijayarāgadēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900-935
Kulaśēkharavarman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-Kōdaivarman (latest regnal year 16)	955-971
Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulaśēkhara-Chakravarti	1089-1102

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[1]E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa.

1 ௭௱ ௮௰௨ ஆண்டு
2 சித்திரை மீ ௬ க
3 உ உருத்தான்
4 செய்வித்த கெ-
5 ரளபுரத்து மாதெ-
6 வர் கொயிலில்
7 தானத்தாரில் மெ-
8 ச்செரி தெவன்
9 திருவிக்கிரமன்
10 சதா செவை-

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1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H.G J, —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.]

F

On another pillar.

1 ௭௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்தி-
2 ரை ௴ சுஉ
3 சித்திரகண்ட-
4 ம் உருத்துரண்
5 செய்வித்தான்
6 பாக்காமங்கல-
7 ம் தெசத்து
8 இச்சுவரன்
9 கெரதை ச
10 தாசெவை-

G

On a third pillar.

1 ௭௱௮௰௨ ௵ சி-
2 த்திரை௴ சுஉ உ-
3 ருத்துரண் செய்-
4 வித்த தானகண-
5 க்கு அய்யப்பன்[2] அய்யப்பன்
6 வகைக்கு பறக்கை-
7 கயில் வளத்துரு-
8 வாக்கும் பெருமாள்
9 திருவாழ் மாற்[ப*]ன்
10 சதாசெவை-

H

On a fourth pillar.

1 ௭௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்தி-
2 ரை௴ம் சுஉ சித்தி-
3 ரகண்டம் உரு
4 த்துரண் செய்வித்த
5 விலஞூர் தெசத்து
6 கணக்கு[2] அய்யப்பன் இரவி
7 சதாசெவை

I

On a fifth pillar.

1 ௭௱௮௰௨ ௵ சித்-
2 திரை மாதம் சுஉ
3 செவித்த[1] கண்-
4 டம் உருத்துரண்
5 பாலைக்கொடு
6 தெசத்து கணக்கு[2]
7 பாப்பன் பாப்பன்
8 சதாசெவை

J

On a sixth pillar.

1 ௭௱
2 ௮௰௨
3 ௵ சி-
4 த்திரை
5 ௴ம் சு-
6 உ ராசரா-
7 சப்பு-
8 ள்ளி
9 நாராயணன்[2]
10 சங்கரன் ஆளா-
11 ய திருப்பணி கணக்கு[2]
12 எழுத்துப்பணி
13 செய்விக்கையு-
14 ம் செய்கையில் உரு-
15 த்துரண் செய்வி-
16 த்த திருப்பன்றிப்பா-
17 க்கத்து பெரு[2]மான்
18 சிவனடியான்
19 சதாசெவை

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1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.[1]

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Krishṇasvāmin temple at Krishṇaṉkōyil, a suburb of Kēraḷapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayāppiḷḷai-Ariyakuṭṭi to the temples of Krishṇa-viṇṇavar-Emberumāṉ and Kulaśēkara-Vināyakapiḷḷaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayiṉār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śiṟaivāymūtta-Tambirāṉār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Śeṭṭu Vēlāyuda-perumāḷ residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ-perunderuvu' of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśēkhara-Viṉāyakappiḷḷaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

1 சகாத்தம் ௧௲௬௱௩௰௩ன் மெல் செல்-
2 லாநின்ற கொல்லம் ௮௱௮௰௭ ௵ ஆவணி
3 ௴ ௫௨ சென்ற திங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
4 ம் பூறுவபக்கிழத்து திறுதிகையும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
5 சாத்தசித்தியயொகமும் பெற்ற இன்னாளால் மலை-
6 மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவன்ம-
7 ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமாள் பெருந்தெருவில்-
8 ச் செட்டு வெலாயுதப்பெருமாள் தம்பிராந்தொழனெ-
9 ன் என் காரணவன் சிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
10 யகுட்டி முன் க்ஷெடியூரில் கொவிலும் கெட்டிவி-
11 த்து நயினார் இரவிபுரத்து ஸ்ரீ கிட்டிண விண்-
12 ணவரென்பெருமானையும் க்ஷெ கொவிலில் வ-
13 டக்கெயிடத்தில குலசெகரவினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
14 யாரையும் கற்பகத்துப்பொற்றியைக் கொண்டு
15 பிறதிட்டையும் செய்வித்து கலைசமுமாடிவித்து
16 க்ஷெ நயினாருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமக்-
17 காரம் அத்தாளம் முத்தாளம் வைச்சு நெய்-
18 வெத்தியம் வகைக்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு ஆ ௰௨ உரி
19 ஆக ௱௧ க்கு ஆ ௨௱ ப ௺ க்கு ௫ ௨ வித
20 ம் ௱௰௮ ப எ ௯ உரி ம் க்ஷெ நயினாருக்கு மாதவி
21 செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வகைக்குப் படி-
22 த்தரத்தின்படி உள்ள செலவும் சாந்தியுடை-

1 This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

23 மக்கு ப−ம் க க்கு ௲ உளபடி௰ ௸ கொவில்-
24 ச் சன்னதியில் கிராமக்காரர் உடமையும்
[இதுவும் இதுக்கடுத்த தெக்குமதிலிலும் பார்க்கவும்]

Second panel.

25 சங்கூத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மத்தளம் கைமணி வகக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
டி உள்ள சொறு நிக்கி ப−ங் க க்கு உட-
26 மை ௲ களஞ்ச பங உரிம் நாகசுரம் ஒத்து வகக்கு ப−ம் க க்கு உடமை
௲ களஙப ம் கோதை மகள் வள்ளி உள்-
27 ளிட்டாரும் குமரை மகள் ஆவிடை உள்ளிட்டாரும் தாணுவை மகள் நா-
கா உள்ளிட்டாரும் ஆக முறை .
28 க்குடி மூன்றுக்குப் படித்தரத்தின் படி உள்ள சொறு நீக்கி ப−ம் க க்கு
௲ ௰௰ ம் ௸ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-
29 க்குக் கல்மடமும் கெட்டிவித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
ந்தருழிச்சு உ-
30 மையொருபாக முதலியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடிவித்து ௸ பிள்ளை-
யாருக்கு நாளொ-
31 ன்றுக்கு வைத்து நெய்வெத்தியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ப−ம் க்கு ஆ ௰௨ க்கு
௲ ஙப ம் நந்தவனம் திருமாலை
32 கெட்டு வகக்கு ௸ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ப−ம் க க்கு உட
மை ௲ களஙப ம் ௸ மடத்தில் நி-
33 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுது கொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பல-
34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும் பலசெலவுக்கும் முன் எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
யத்தின்படி உளள ௲
35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழெக கட்டிலை திருவிளக் கெண்ணை மாதவிசேஷம்
ஆட்டவிசேஷம்
36 மற்றும் பலவக செலவுக்கும் கூட விச்சுவபூறுவ தன்மதானப் பிறமாண-
மாக முன் எழுதிவை-
37 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உள்ள நிலமும் புரையிடமுமாவிது [।*] முன்
அ௱ஙப௰௭ வைகாசி மீ° ௰௬௨ ந௳-
38 ளூர் இரவி இரவிவற்மராய சிறவாய்மூத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
கல்பித்த நளி ௸ கிட்டிணனுக்குப் பிள்ளையா-
39 ருக்கும் பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட வகக்கு ௸ சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டிக்குக்
கொடுத்த திருமுகத்தின்படி அஞ்சாலி மே-
40 ல்வாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமாவிது [।*] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு வடசெரியில் இராசராச-
பெரெரிக்குளத்தின் கீள் நீராகரம சிதம்ப-
41 ரனாதன் புள்ளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல் கண்ணறு
நெல்மாரி ௸ ம-
42 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணறு கைதறை ஆக ௸ புள்-
ளியில் தடி . . . . .
43 பண்டாரம் பனையறை ஆன . . . புள்ளியில் ௸ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
இரண்டாங் கண்ணறு சாலியன் வய-

44 ல் இகூ அருகபம் இசுவரன் காளி புள்ளியில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமரக்-
கால் தடிகூ . . . . . . ம கடுக்கரையில் அரியகுட்டி

45 இரவி புள்ளியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெல் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிகூ . . . .
நிலம் . . . ல் . . உள்க்கால் தடி

46 கவ . . . . . ||| ௩கூ ௨ . . . . கூ ||| . . . ம ௨ . . . . ம் குறி தடிகூ . .
. ம் . . . . . . || . . . ம் . . . . . ம் சொனை-

47 மாம்பள்ளி புள்ளியில் குறி தடிகூ . எத । . . . . ||| . . . ம் ௨ . . . .
. ம ௨ நிலம் . . . . . ம ௨ . . எகூ ||

48 கப ம் கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகூ சு ௨ல் ௫ம் ௨ . . . கூ ௨ல் ௫ ம் ஆக புள்ளி
௨க்கு . . . . . . ம் இ-

49 லுப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்சில தடி பலநிலம் . ம் பிளாக்கொட்டைவி-
ளையும் ௱௩த திரு-

50 த்து தடி பல௨ விசகூ கொளை ஆற்றுக்கொணம் தடி பல . . சக।ம் । (வ-
டக்குப்பிறதநில் வடக்குமதிலில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

51 ஆக வடசெரிகடுக்கரை உள்ப்பட்ட தடி பல . . . . க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்

52 மெல்வாரமும் ஒழிந்து ஷெ கிட்டிணவிண்ணவரென்பெருமான் கொவி-
லில்

53 ஸ்ரீகாரியம் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரம் தானம் தவைக்கு உள்ப்பட ஆசெந்திரதாரவெ
சந்திரா-

54 தித்தவரைக்கும் மசட்டுச்சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி திருமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்கயில் ஷெ நில-

55 ங்களிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலைனட்டில் கொதைநல்லூர்ப்பற்றில் பிராயறை-
க்குளத்தின் கீ-

56 ழும் தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கிழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின் கீழும்
கழனி தடிகூ௫பம்

57 தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்துக் குளத்தின் கிழும் கா-
ரைக்காய் வட்டம்

58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின்கிள் கழத்தடிநிலம் கூபம்
பிலாமுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி

59 நிலம் ஷெ உக்கு மெக்குப் புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் பிரா-
யறை தடி நிலம் ௫பம் மாத்த-

60 றை தடி நிலம் ௨பம் ஆக்கறைக்குளத்தின் கீள் வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடிகூ
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகூ ௩பம்

61 மாம்பறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாம்பறை தடிகூகூபம் சபன்குழி தடிகூ ப
௫௨ம் மொதிரத்துட-

62 வயல் தடிகூ ௩பம் கொழிஞ்ஞித்துடவயல் தடிகூ கூபம் இளையநயினுக்-
குளத்தின் கீள் தலத்தடி

63 தடிகூ கூபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகூ ௩பம் மொங்காத்துடவயல் தடிகூ ௩-
பம் பறம்புக்குழிக் ௧-

64 ளத்தாலும் கொற்றலைக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடி கூ சபம் கொற்றலைக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிச்சைக்குள-

65 த்தாலும் பனையடி தடி கூ உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின் கீழ் பழஞ்சொற்றுக்க-
ண்டம் தடி கூ நபம் பெ-

66 ருங்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாணுங்காணி தடி கூ நபம் கொழிப்பறமபு தடி கூ ச-
பம் பால தடி கூ

67 ருபம் அத்தியடி த'டி கூ நபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-

68 தடி கூ உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக் குளத்தாலும் கல்லணையா-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-

69 வயல் தடி கூ ருபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் ஷெடி கோணம் நெலம்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணார்-

70 குளத்தின் கீழ் மணவாழகொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடி கூ சுபம் ஷெடில் ஆழு-
ங்கொட்டக்குளத்தின்

71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடி கூ பம் ஷெடல் இழவன்குழமும் அந்நுவறிக்-
குழமும் ஷெ கொணம் தடி பல நிலம்

72 ஆக மலைநாட்டு வகவத்து கெடமை பொக்கி உள்ள பாட்டவும் பரக்கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாவடி தடி கூ

73 நப க்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டாற்று பெருமாள் அண்ணவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்வார மொழிந்து தானம்

74 வெண்டின புளியறை தடி உகூ சாக்கு உள்ள பாட்டவும குளச்சையில்
பெற்றுள் விளாகம் புறையி-

Fourth panel.

75 டத்துக்கும் நெய்யூர் அஞ்சாலிவிளாகம் புறெ-
76 ரயடத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உள்ள பா'..டமும் சு-
77 வாமி கொவிலில்ச் சன்னதிக்கிராமத்து மனை-
78 யும் வால்வீச்சும் பாண்டாரப்பி ர ளை இசுவரன் தெவ-
79 ன் வக மண்க்கொட்டைக்கு கிழ்மெல் இராச-
80 பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல்ப் பெருவழிக்கும்
81 கிராமத்து வால்வீச்சுக்கும் நடுவில் மனைக-
82 ளும் விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
83 ழிக்கும் கீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் காணிப்-
84 பொட்டு அம்பலத்துக்கும தனது வக விளை-
85 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கல்மடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
86 மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
87 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும கின்றயடிவி-
88 ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
89 வடக்கடையில் மெக்குச்சிறவில் கடை அம் ஷெ-
90 யில் கிளக்குச்சிற வில் கடை கூ ம் ஆக தெவன்
91 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல்
92 இராசபெருவழிககும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
93 ருவழிக்கும் நாயகபட்டர் விளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவி-
94 ளாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

95 ல்மதிலுக்கும் அந்ந வறிகொணத்துக்கும் கிழெ-
96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் நாயக்கபட்டர் வி-
97 ளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவிளைகளுக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை
98 விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளைகளுக்கும் (மகர-
99 தொறணவிளக்குக்கு தெக்குமதிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

100 வூரான பெருவழிக்கும் நடுவில் விளையளும் தென்வ-
101 டல்ப்பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணாள் குளத்துக்கும் அந்நறிகொ-
102 ணத்துக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளையளுக்கும் ந-
103 டுவில் விளையளும் தொப்பும் நந்தாவனமும் அதின் கி-
104 ழக்குத்துண்டுவிளைக்கும் ஆக இவ்வகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட சிலவும் நடத்திக்கெ-
106 காள்ள சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி விட்டுக்கெ-
107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு பிச்சையார் அணைஞ்சபெருமாள்
108 முத்தாளம் பூசைக்கும் நமக்காரத்துக்கும் நாள் க-க்கு அரி
109 கூ௱அ ஆக ௰ம் க-க்கு ௭ கள ஆக ௰ம கூ-க்கு ௭ கூள-க்கு வி-
110 ட்டுக் கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் ஏறி தடி கூ . . . .
111 க்கு அகப்பற்று உ-க்கு உள்ள மெல்வாரவும் ஷையில் கடு-
112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடிகூவஙளத ॥ . . க்கு அகப்பற்று
113 மெல்வாரமும் அளஎடூஉ ௵ கொண்ட அந்தநபுரத்து
114 செட்டையினுன் குளமும் ஷை கொணம் மடிகூ।
115 அஞ்சாவி மெல்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட;
116 வும் அ௰ள௵ ஆவணி ௰ம் ௺ செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
117 பெருமாள் தம்பிராந்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
118 டுத்த வக வடசெரியில்க் கரையும் கடுக்கரையில் கை-
119 ரயும் காணியாட்சையும் ஷையில் குளவும் பனையடிக்கெ-
120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இவ்வகைகளுக்கு உள்ள நெ-
121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்ப்ப-
122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் எறப்பெரும் நடத்திக் கொள்ளவும்
123 ஆக இந்தவகை எறபெரும் ஷை கொவில் தம்மபத்தாவும்
124 ஷை கொவில் சன்னதி கிராமத்து மாசனங்களும் கூடி
125 விசாரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தற்மத்துக்கு அ-
126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெங்கைக் கரையிலெ காராம் பசு-
127 வைக் கொந்ற பாபத்தில் பொவாராகவும் இந்த தற்மம் பரி-[1]

No. 32—Vadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures $10\frac{3}{4}''$ by $6\frac{3}{4}''$ exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vaishṇava triple emblem, a Teṅkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śaṅkha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishṇa shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāñjināḍu, the plate[1] must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription[2] it is learnt that Vaḍaśēri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇāḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman[3] who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription[4] of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Kṛishṇa of Vaḍaśēri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhin and on a Monday, the 27th day of Puraṭṭāśi with suklapaksha-daśami and nakshatra Śravaṇa. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmaliṅgam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajuś-śākhā and a resident in the south Māḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Kṛishṇa, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāṅi and Parvatavarddhanī-sāni undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmans throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāḷ-ulpaḍa*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (nak. Śravaṇa) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *tiriyaḷ* is used for *strīkaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishṇa is tamilised into *Kiṭṭiṇa*, *sahiraṇya* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraṇiya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Kṛishṇaśvāmi-tuṇai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages Īśānti-maṅgalam, Varaguṇa-maṅgalam, Bhūtappāṇḍi, the rivulets Araśiyār and Teḷḷāndi, and the individuals Ulaguḍaiya-nāchchiyār, Tambirāṉtōḷan-Śīvalakkuṭṭi and Kadambara-nāyar of Iravimaṉ. Bhūtappāṇḍi is a village in the Tovala taluk in South Travancore, and Īśānti-maṅgalam described as situated in the western portion of Nāñjināḍu is a village near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

The name Tambirāṉṟōlaṉ (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint Sundaramūrti, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṉ*) at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [|*]. சகாத்தம் கதுசுாகூ௯க ன் மெல் கொல்ல[ம்*] கூ௱சய-
2 ரு ஸ்ரு விரோதி ஸ்ரு புரட்டாதிமாதம்[2] உ௰௭உ பூறுவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
3 யும்[2] சொமவாரமும் திரிதிராமயொகமும் யானைக்கர-
4 ணமும் பெற்ற திருவொண நட்சத்திறத்து நாள் செய்த சகிரணி-
5 யொதாபூறுவ தற்ம்மதான பிறமாணமாவது [||*] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
6 வடசருவில் ஆதித்தவற்ம்ம சதுற்வெதிமங்கலத்து நயினர் உரு-
7 வ நாராயண விண்ணவ எம்பெருமானர் கொவில் கிரீ கி-
8 ஷ்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
9 கவுண்டினிய கொத்திறத்து ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பசூத்திறத்தில் எசுசாகா-
10 த்தியான வைத்திலிங்கபட்டர் புத்திரன் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் ச-
11 ானகியும் பறுவதவற்த்தினிசானியொம் கிட்டிணசுவாமி சன்னதி-
12 யில் நித்திய நமஸ்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிராமண பொச-
13 னத்துக்கும் உதககதான பிறமாணம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ-
14 து [||*] முன் சயசஸ்ரு மாசிமாதம் ௰சஉ எங்கள் பற்த்தா ராமலிங்கன்
தான-
15 ம்செய்த நிலமாவது [|*] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மெல்பிடாகை ஈசாந்தி-
16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால் சங்கண்ணறு[2] அரசியார்கால்ப்-
17 பொக்கில் தெள்ளாந்தி மடைப்புரவில் தெள்ளாந்தி வய-
18 ல் தடி கஉ . . . .[3] க்கு எல்லையாவது கீழ் எல்-
19 லை மாடன் நாகர் உ[4]த்துக்கு மெற்க்குத் தென்னெல்லை கிழ்-
20 மெல்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்லை அரசியார் காலுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Contains land symbols.

4 Symbol for கலம்.

21 குக் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை கணக்கு சங்கரநாராயணன் ராமன்
22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தெள்-
23 ளாந்தி வயல் தடி கஉ . . . . [1]உமசமீ ம் ஷெ கண்ணுத்தி-
24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுவுமடை கரையடி நாற்றடி தடி கஉ வத । ச
25 ல் ௯உவ சமீ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை அரசியார் கா-
26 லுக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்கை உலகுடைய நாச்சிய-
27 ார் சொணை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
28 க்கும் காலுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை உலகுடைய நாச்சிய-
29 ார் சொணை உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
30 தடி கஉவக । சல் குலை சமீ ம் வாகுணமங்கலம் கிழ்பால் அ-
31 ரசியார் கால்பொக்கில் நால்பதுமாபற்றில் மணறை மாகா-
32 ணி மடைப்புரவில் இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல தடி
33 கஉசுளத । க . . . . மசுமீ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எ-
34 ல்கை பிராணுபகாரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன் உத்துக்கு
35 மெற்கு தென்எல்கை தம்பிரான்தொழன் சீவலக்குட்டி
36 உத்துக்கு உம் கிழ்மெல் காலுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை நயி-
37 னார் பூதனாதசுவாமி உத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை பூத-
38 னாதன் ராமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு
39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி கஉ

Second side.

40 சுளக । கசப . . மசுமீ ம் ஆக தடி ௱உ . . . .
41 சமசமீ க்கு ஷூ க பாட்டம் ௨ கொட்டை ௱ம௱ இல தண்மைகுறை வகைக்கு
42 னீக்கின ௨ கொரு யும் னீக்கி வரம்படங்கல் பாட்டம் ௨ கொட்டை உம அ ல்
43 னன் க-க்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உ-க்கு அரிசி ௱உ-க்கு ௨ எஉ உரியும் யிரு
44 வெஞ்ஞனம் வகைக்கு ௨ உ உரியும் பழயநமக்காரம் பெர் சும் மெறபடி
பெர் உம் ஆக
45 பெர் அ க்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச ௨ உயும் ஆக னள் க க்கு ௨ பஉஉ ஆ-
க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
46 கனள் னள் ௱ாசுமஞ க்கு சிலவு நெல் கொட்டை உம க்கு இ ௱ உ க உரியும்
47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர் கூ க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
௱உ
48 னும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ஞஉ
49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வறு உரிக்கு ஞல் உ க்கு ௨ ஞமீ உனும் பருப்பும் நாலு க-
றியும் ஆக
50 வச்சூட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிலவு வகக்கு ௨ வறு ஞஉ ௱னுக்கும் ஆக இவ-
கைபடி திரு-
51 வொணம் நாள் க க்கு ௨ கொட்டை வவச ஆக பெர் க க்கு ப-ம் மஉ க்கு
திருவொணம் ய௱

1 Contains land symbols.

52 க்கு கிலவு கொட்டை சதுடசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவோணம் உள்பட்டவக
53 க்கு இவகபடி பெர் க க்கு கிலவு ௨ கொட்டை உயகூ இயகூ௨ உரியும் மெ
ற்படி௨
54 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்கூலிக்கு ௨ கொட்டை சஉ ஆக ௨ கொட்டை உயஅ
55 க்கும் இந்த தானம் செய்த நிலத்தை சீபண்டாரத்தில் நின்று-
56 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்சு பாட்ட ௨ம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தற்மத்-
57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தற்ம-
58 த்தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலொக சாமீப சாரு-
59 ப்பிய சாயுச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தற்மத்தை
60 விக்கினம் செய்தவர்கள் பிரம்மத்துரொகியாகவும் விண்ணு-
61 த்துரொகியாகவும் சிவத்துரொகியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
62 படிச்சம்மதித்து இந்த சகிரணியொதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
63 எழுதிக்குடு[த்*]தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திறியன் சரனகிசானியும்
64 பறுவதவற்த்தினிசானியுமொம் கிண்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியி-
65 ல் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகிசானியும் பறுவத
66 வற்த்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [||*] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் கைஎழுதி-
67 ன தளிகைமாதெவர் கொயில் சன்னதி கிராமத்தில் லட்சிமி-
68 நாராயண சொதிரிஷி புத்திறன் வைத்தியனாதன் எழுத்து [||*] முன்பு
69 கூாயநு௲௬ ஆவணிமாதம் கூஉ பூதப்பாண்டி அகரத்து
70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் சூரியநாராயணபட்டர் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல்-
71 பிச்சுகொடுத்த துலியம் சாற்த்திய தானபிறமாண ஒ-
72 லை க ம் யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஓலை க ம் கூாநுயஉ௲௬ காது
73 ஞ சம் காற்த்திகை மாதம் யங வ சூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
74 ட்டாரொடு ருதுக்கு ராமலிங்கபட்டர் உட்பட சறு தா-
75 னம் செய்து வாங்கின ஓலை க ம் பணம் நிது க்கு எழுதி-
76 வாங்கின அற்த்த பத்துசீட்டு க ம் ஆக ஓலை சம் சிறீபண்-
77 டாரத்தில் கையாளிக்கவும் செய்தொம் [||*] இந்த
78 உதகதானப்பிறமாண ஓலை பட்டையத்தும்ப-
79 டிக்குத் தாம்பிரபட்டையம் கைஎழுதின மெற்படி
80 ஊரில் யிருக்கும் சில்ப்பம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
81 திருநீலகண்டன் எழுத்து [||*] ஸ்ரீகஜரஷுவாமிதனை [||*]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Krishṇasvāmin temple at Vaḍaśeri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1464, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa who is stated to have been a *paradēśi* (foreigner) of the Antarvēdi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vaḍaśeri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Antarvēdi-rājya[1] was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brāhmaṇas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also know by the names of Śaśasthalī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman[2] in the 12th century.

Text.[2]

First face.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொல்லம்
2 ஆ௬௱௩௰௯க்கு க-
3 ற்கடகஞாயிறு
4 பதினொன்று செ-
5 ன்ற வ௵வ-௩வ-
6 கூத்து வஞு-
7 மியுந் திங்கள்-
8 க்கிழமை[யு]ம்
9 பெற்ற உத்திரத்தி-
10 ன் [னா*] நாஞ்சிநா-
11 டு ஸ்வஸ்தி செம
12 ழ வடசெரியா-
13 ன ஸ்ரீ உதாதித்தி-
14 வ௩-௩சதுவே-௩-
15 தீமங்கலத்து
16 நயினார் உருப-
17 நாராயணவி-
18 ண்ணகர் எம்பெ-
19 பருமான் கோ-
20 யிலில் நயினா-
21 ற்கு சூரியரில்
22 அஜுவே-௩திரா-

Second face.

23 ஐத்த[தா]
24 பரதேசமி-
25 களில் [தீ]
26 வ-௩ஜட-
27 ர் யஜ-௩உ-
28 ரக உச்சி-
29 வ[ஸி]வ௵-
30 ஜைமில்
31 கூட வை-
32 ச்சு நிவே-
33 திச்சு ஒரு
34 நஉவுாரா-
35 மாக ஒரு பி-
36 ராமணை-
37 ன ஊட்டும்-
38 படி கற்பித்த
39 இதுக்கு நாள் க
40 க்கு அமுது படி
41 உஉ க்கு ௳
42 ஞ்உ எம்மு-
43 ரம் |||[4] உப்பு அமு-
44 துக்கு ௳- உரி
45 ஆக ௳-

Third face.

46 நெஉ உரி[யு*]ம்
47 ஆக ம[ர*]க்கம் க க்கு ௳
48 கள உத ● உ
49 ஆக
50 ஆண்டு க க்கு மிக்க
51 நாள் க க்கு மாக
52 ம ௨-
53 க்கு நாற்று:
54 க்கு மூன்று
55 கொட்டை செ-
56 ல்லு விழுக்காடு
57 உஜயம் கா-

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1 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रयागहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मावर्तदेशः । तत्पर्यायः शशस्थली ॥
—*Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवानां मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कलिन्दकन्यामन्दाकिन्यौ संगच्छेते ।
—*Anargharāghava*, 7 (Apte)

2 *Madras Epig. Rept.* for 1922, p. 103.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

4 This is not understood.

58 ண்டு நடத்தும்ப-
59 டி கற்பித்து இ-
60 துக்கு ப‾ சாளம
61 ம் ச(ரு)வத்துக்கு
62 ப‾ உமம் ஆக
63 ப‾ சாறும் ம ம-
64 ாதம் க க்கு இ-
65 லையமுது அ-
66 டைக்காயமு-

Fourth face.

67 துக்கு ப‾ வ ம
68 சந்தன க-
69 ாப்புக்கு ப‾ வ
70 ம் நெய்யமு-
71 துக்கு ப‾ வம் க-
72 றியமுதுக்கு
73 ப‾ வ ம் ஆக ப‾
74 க க்கு மாஸம்
75 க க்கு பலிசை
76 கொண்டு ந-
77 டக்கும்படிக்கு
78 ப‾ ஓம் ஆக
79 ப‾ நூா ம் சூ-
80 அசூ[த்*]ரா முட்டாம-
81 ல நடக்கும்படி
82 கற்பித்து திரு-
83 ப்படியில் உதி-
84 கம் செய்து உதி[க*]-
85 வாவஷ்ரோக இப்-
86 பணம் அஞ்ஞூறு-
87 ம உலையம் கெ-
88 காண்டொ மிக்கெ-
89 காயிலில் கழி-
90 களும் உள்வாரி-
91 யஞ் செய்வார்களும்
92 பரதேசிகளும சூ-
93 அசூதாரம் முட்டாம-
94 ல் நடக்கும்படிக்கு தீ-
95 வஷ்ட்டனென் ரூ-
96 பநாராயண விண்ணகர் எ-
97 ம்பெருமானுக்கு [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Karkaṭaka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhaṭṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antarvēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ of Vaḍaśēri *alias* Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. a *brahmadēya* in Nāñjināḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḻi* of rice, 5 *nāḻi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḻi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, *i. e.*, 1 *kalam* 2 *tūṇi* 5 *nāḻi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

$\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for sandle-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for vegetables: *i. e.*, for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors[1] and *paradēśis*[2] received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *uḷvāriyam-śeyvār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Aḍappaḍuvāḷ* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēśi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Aryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmans in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

ṇtam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dīrgha-bhaṭṭan to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyana-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ, till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Kṛishṇaṉkōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Gaṇapati, a resident of Kuḷattūr in Kollam 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.[1]

1 ௳ கொல்லம் ௯௱௪௰௫ விகிருதிவருஷம் சித்திரையாதம் ௨௰௮ௗ திங்கழ்கிழமையும் சித்திரைநட்செத்திரமும் பூற-
2 வபட்சத்து த்திரயோதெசியும் சித்திகாமயோகமும் பன்றிக்கரணமும் இக்த-
சுபதினத்தில் துசப்றதிட்டை த[ரு]மம்
3 குளத்தூரான் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை ௳

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti, on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th (lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṉṟi karaṇa—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff) was (done as) the service of Gaṇapati of Kuḷattūr.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmans on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha, while the king of the other record is Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ரு௱௪௰௮ ௵ யனுஞாயற்று ௨௰௩ சென்ற நாள் . . .
2 ஸச்சது வெ-ரீமங்கலத்து திருக்கடலூர் யஜுநாராயண ஸட்ட . . . . . .
3 தூவசேத்திருவடி கொயிற்கன்பிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த . . . .

No. 70 of 1084.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் எ௱அ ௵ காத்திகை . . . .

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1 Registered as No. 68 of the Trav Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 சங்கரநாராயண வென்றுமன்கொண்டபூதலவீர . . . .

3 ச்சவையாரில் ஆரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபெருமாள் . . . .

No. 36—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report* on Archæology for 1096 M. E.:-

It states that Īchchamm-ādikuṭṭiyuma and Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ of Śeru-viḷaivīḍu in Chirayiṉkīḻ-dēśam were granted the land called Śeṟiyaraṉṉiviḷai in Neyyāttiṅkarai-dēśam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttiṅkarai, they built a *kal-maḍam* and *ambalam*, *i. e.*, a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Āchārappiḷḷai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāmēśvarattu-Mahādēva and Kandaḷūrśālai-Mahādēva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyāttinkarai and Kuḷittuṟai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyāttiṅkarai,Kāndaḷūr-śālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kāndaḷūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttiṅkarai. Kandaḷūr is repeatedly referred to in Choḷa inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Śālai. Earlier references to Kāndaḷūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-ḍakkan (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkuḷam and Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvaram, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōḷa sovereigns from the time of Rājarāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Śālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōḷa kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase "Kandaḷūr-śālaikalam-aṟutta". His Kanyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus:—"*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-talaiyum Śēralaṉ-Śālaiyum Ilaṅgaiyum taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*". The clause means "he who by means of his army took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅka". This introduction makes it plain that *Śālai* is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a 'charity institution'. The employment of the words '*taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*' 'who took by means of his army,' and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya's head and Laṅkā would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king's reign, mention "*Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvarattu kalam-aṟṟa yāṇḍa*" and "*Talaikkuḷattu kalām-aṟṟu yāṇḍu*". These have been wrongly connected (*vide. Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājarāja I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither 'Śālai' nor 'Rājarāja' is mentioned in these records.

Text.[1]

First face.

1 ஓம் கெணபதெ நம [।*]
2 தனுவில் வியாழம்
3 நின்ற கொல்லம்[2]
4 அா௲௰கூ ௵ சித்தி-
5 ரை மாதம் ௰௨ செ
6 ன்ற வியாழவாச்-
7 சயும் சித்திரையும்
8 பூற்வபக்கிழத்து பவு-
9 ரணியும் மின்னுள-
10 ரல் சிறயின்கீழ்தெ-
11 சத்து செறுவள்ளி-
12 வீட்டில் பிச்சம்மா-
13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அய்ய[ப்*]-
14 பன் மாத்தாண்டனு-
15 கூட செப்பாற்றங்க-
16 ரெ தெசத்து மாஙாலி-
17 யில் செறியதாங்கி வி-
18 ளைக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
19 திருவுளளம்பற்றி க-
20 ல்ப்பிச்சு தந்த திருமு-
21 கத்தின்படி ஓள்ள ஷெ
22 விளையில் கல்மடமு[ம்*]
23 கல்லம்பலவும் கெட்டி-
24 ச்சு ஷெ ௵ பங்குனி-ம—²[௰]-
25 ௪ கெல[ச]மாடுகெயி[ல்]
26 ஷெ மடத்தில் தலைசெழு-
27 காறாரா வாற திருபெ-
28 ரு ருமபரதெசி நீராக-
29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரபி[ன்*]ளை-
30 யாரையும் பூசித்து நந்-
31 தவன பணிவிடையும்
32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ா*]-
33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற்]றும் மிடை ப-
34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
35 ளக்கு எண்ணை[யு] ள்-
36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம்*]
37 கூட உதகபூற்வ த-
38 ம்மதான பட்டயமாக
39 சந்திராதித்தர் வரை-
40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

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1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

Second face.

41 சிலாலிகித-
42 மாக நாம் வி-
43 ட்டு குடுத்த நில-
44 ங்களும் புரெ-
45 யடங்களும-
46 ாவது [॥*]திரு
47 முகத்தின்ம ।।-
48 [டி கடம] அடக்கி
49 வெண்டின
50 செறியதாநி
51 விளை யுள்ளி-
52 ட்ட புரெயடங்-
53 ளுக்கும் தெ விளை-
54 யிலுங் பிற கரி-
55 யிலுங் குடக-
56 [ருசவ] ங்கமு-
57 டய வாணுய-
58 திருத்தின தாநி-
59 யம் யுள்ளிட்ட
60 தடி பல உ ௲ள-
61 வும் நயினார் [ரா]மெ-
62 மசுரத்து மாதெ-
63 த[வ]ர் பற்றில் நி-
64 ன்று கடம அடக்கி
65 கராராமயாக
66 விட்டு தந்த ன-
67 . பிலாவிளை-
68 யும் தெல் கீழ்பி-
69 றத்து வெட்டிக்கி-
70 ருத்து தடி ஒன்-
71 று உ ௲-பம் எங்-
72 கள் தாய்ம-
73 ார் சிரிதன-
74 ம் பெற்றுடை-
75 யொ மாயி
76 ஆண்டனு-
77 பவித்து வருகி-
78 ற மாஙாலி[யி]-
79 ல் பெருவழி-
80 க்கு தென் பிற-
81 ங் கண்டவில்
82 [ரா]மெசுரத்து

Third face.

83 மாதெவர்க்கு அஞ்சிலொ-
84 ன்று வார[ம்*]பொகவெண்-

85 டும் வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
86 தடி எ உ உ ள நடுவும் [கொ]-
87 ல்லயில் மாங்குளத்தின் கி-
88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கற கு உடு௯ [ம்] அ-
89 யிக்கர வட்டத்து புதுக்குளத்தி
90 ன் கீழ் [எ]ரிச்சிலற தடி க
91 உ டூஉம் ஷை தடி உ கார் எற்-
92 ரு சரிரவிருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
93 . . . கடமயும் பொன்னும்
94 ஞைங்கொட்டு எண-
95 யொன் குளத்தின் கீழ்
96 குளத்தற தடி க உ யபம் ருசீ-
97 ங் கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்து-
98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . ஷை
99 தடி க வ பம் வள்ளல் தடி
100 உஉகபரு காயடி தடி உ வ
101 . . ரும்ள மெச்சன் வ அப
102 வள்ளிவாறற உ பம் குள-
103 வடி தடி உ வ உபயும் புளிய-
104 டி தடி உ வ உபயும் மெக்குதெ-
105 ர பூவச்ச [பு]ரெயடத்தில்
106 பாதியும் ஷை சாயல் புளி-
107 யடி தலெபுரெயடத்தி-
108 னு வடக்கு கிழக்குதரெ வி-
109 த்துகொள்ளி வயல் தலெ-
110 ல புரெயடத்தினு வட-
111 க்கு நீர்ச்சருவுகள்க்கும்
112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
113 புரெயடத்துகளில் பாதி-
114 யும் ஆலத்தூர் தெசத்து ச-
115 ரப்புகாட்டில் குளத்தின் கீ-
116 ழ் ஸாங்தனூர் சாலை ம-
117 ஈதெவர்க்கு வாரம் பொக
118 வெய்ண்டு மருதற தடி க வ
119 டூஉ பம் செறிய புளியடி
120 தடி ஊ உ ரு பம் புத்தற தடி க வ
121 ரு பம் கொணத்து தடி க வ
122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க வ
123 சபம் கானக்கொட்டு

Fourth face

124 செறுகொட்டு
125 புரெயடங்களு [ஆ*]
126 சயிவ்வக [தடி]
127 பல உயகளய
128 கபம் யிந்த பு-
129 ரெயடங்களு[ம்*]
130 கூட மடப்பிறம-

131 ரக சந்திராதித்-
132 தர் வரெக்கும்
133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
134 படி விட்டுக்குடு-
135 த்து [।।*] யிந்த மட த-
136 ம்ம நடந்து வ-
137 ருமிடத்து யாத-
138 ாமொருவர் யி-
139 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் நி
140 லங்களுக்கும் பு
141 ரெயடங்களு
142 க்கும் அஹிதம் ெ
143 சய்தபெர்க-
144 ள் தங்கள் மா-
145 தா பிதாவை ெ-
146 கான்ற தொழ-
147 த்திலும் பிரம-
148 ணரை கொன்-
149 ற தொழத்திலு-
150 ம் கெங்கைக-
151 ரயில் காரும்-
152 பசுவை கொ-
153 ன்ற தொழத்தி-
154 ல் பொயாருக-
155 வும் யிந்த தம்ம-
156 த்துக்கு அநுகூ-
157 லம் செய்ப-
158 வர்கள் பரெ-
159 மசுரனுடைய
160 பாதாரவிந்-
161 தத்தில் செர்-
162 வாருகவும் [।।*]
163 ஶுபமஸ்து ।

Translation.

Om! Adoration to Gaṇapati!

The following are the lands and *puraiyiḍams* which we, Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ and Ichchammādikkuṭṭiyuma of Cheruvaḷḷivīḍu in Chirayinkīḻ-dēśam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Āchārappiḷḷaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguṇi in the said year, in the Śeṟiyatānnivilai of Maṅāli in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king[1] had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeṟiyatānnivilai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kaḍamai* according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍis* in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . ;

Pilāviḷai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēvar with the right of enjoyment of *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai*;

the land called Veṭṭitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Māṅāli, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of *one in* five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēva;

the land called Maṅṅaṟakaṟa, measuring *10 paṟa*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅguḷam;

the land called Erichchilaṟa (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of thē tank of Pudukkuḷam.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Eṟṟāsarivirutti, Maṅṅara . . . . . :

the land called Kuḷattaṟa to the east of Eṇayōṅkuḷam in Oṇaṅgōḍu, measuring 10 *paṟa*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. . . . . kaṇḍam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vittukoḷḷi, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and another of 2 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*:

Maḷamechchaṉ, measuring 8 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vaḷḷivāṟaṟa, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*;

Kuḷavaḍi, measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puḷiyaḍi measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, *comprised in two taḍi*;

half of Mēkkuttaṟa Pūvachcha-purayaḍam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kuṟuṇi* situated to the north of Puḷiyaḍi-talaippuraiyiḍam, to the north of Viṭṭukoḷḷivayal-talaippuraiyiḍam and the lands *karaippuraiyiḍam* included in the water course;

the land called Marudaṟa situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkāḍu in the village of Ālattūr, measuring 12 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍaḷūrśālai-mahādēva:

Śeṟiyapuḷiyaḍi, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttaṟa, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Mūtta-Tambirāṉ is probably Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman.

Tekkepputtaṟa, measuring 4 kuṟuṇi comprised in one taḍi;
the *puraiyiḍams* of Šeṟukōḍu in Kaṇakkōḍu;

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in many *taḍis.*

These *puraiyiḍams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyiḍams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmaṇas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kuḻitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pichchai-Piḷḷai Kaṇṇam-Piḷḷai of Mañjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kuḻitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pāḷai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Naṭṭālam, Āṟṟūr, Pudūr and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.[1]

1 தஙுவில் வியாளம்
2 நின்ற கொல்லம் கூா-
3 ஙிடௌ௵ ஆடி மாத-
4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி-
5 ங்களாட்சையும் மூலவும்
6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொ-
7 தசியும் இன்னாளால் குளு-
8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

1 Registered as No. 2 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

9 ளாகத்து விட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
10 ளை கன்னம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
11 ப்படி தெசத்து பழயசங்-
12 தயில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
13 றத்தில் அம்பலவும் கெ-
14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி
15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சிட்-
16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளங்
17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாலி-
18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
19 டவும் வென்னீர் ஊறுகாய்
20 குடுக்கவும் சுண்ணாம்பு
21 வெண்டி இடவும் பாளையும் கய-
22 றும் வகைக்கும் ௲ அம்பலம் ஒ-
23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும்[1] இந்த வகைக-
25 ள் எ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருகி-
26 ற பண்டாரங்களுக்கு நி-
27 லவும் புரயெடமும் செம்மம் ெ-
28 [ந]டிவிட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின்-
30 ங்கரை மெமெல வீட்டு

Second face.

31 மெலவீட்டு விளாக
32 புரயிடத்தி [எய ரய்][2] காசை
33 வெண்டி சிலவிட்டுக் கெ-
34 ாள்ளுவாராகவும் [।*] இந்த எ-
35 ழுத்தின்படி உள்ள தறமம்
36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண்-
37 டாரங்களுக்கு நிலவும் பு-
38 ரயடவும் செம்மம் ெ[ந]டி[வி]-
39 ட்டுக் குடுத்தவகை அண-
40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளில்ல]-
41 கொட்டு கொணத்து பாதி-
42 ரியான்க்குளத்தாலும்
43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கீள்-
44 வெங்கெமெற தடி ௧ நிலம்
45 [சு ப] ௲ தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
46 ரங்குளத்தின் கீள் படப்பற
47 தடி ௧ நிலம் ந ப[மு]வன்னு-
48 தெசத்து சுரப்பாலைக்குளத்தி-
49 ன்ங்கீள் ஊளாற தடி ௧ நி-
50 லம் எப ஞ உ-ம் வயல்கலக்க
51 ல் நிக்கும் தெங்கு ந-ம் புன்னை
52 கம் ஆக தடி ந நிலம் கள சபறு-

1 This word is a variant of உ-கெழிக்கவும்.

2 Probably எழுபதரை.

53 டந் தெங்கு ௩-ம் புன்னை க-ம்

54 ஷெடி அம்பலத்து வடக்கு ப்[பிற]த்து

55 விளா[க*]த்தி[ல்] இருக்கிற வீடு-

56 ம் விளாக விருட்சங்க-

57 ளும் பஞ்சுக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face.

58 விளாகம் புர-

59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-

60 ல்லை கி[ளெ]-

61 ல்லை அரசன்-

62 செரி விளாக-

63 த்தினும் மெக்கு [தென்]-

64 னல்ல இடலை-

65 க்குந் வடக்கு மெ[லெ]-

66 ல்லை தாளக்-

67 [கொ]டு புரயிடத்தி-

68 னும் கிளக்கு வ-

69 டவல்லை நாவறெ-

70 விளாகத்தினு-

71 ம் தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-

72 ல்லை நடுவில்

73 கிடந்த மெலெ-

74 ட்டு விளாகம்

75 புரையிடத்தினு

76 ஊடு க-க்கு பாட்ட ௳

77 டுஉல் தனங்க-

78 ரம் ௳ கஇ-யும் நீ-

79 க்கி ௳ யஇ-க்கும் கி-

80 லவு ஷெடி அம்பல-

81 ம் ஓலகட்டு வ-

82 கைக்கு ௳ ௬-ம்

83 பாளையும் கயது-

84 க்கும் ௳ உ-ம் சு-

85 ண்ணை[ம் பு]-

86 க்கு ௳ கஇ-யும் ஊ-

87 றுகாயி [வகை]க்கு

88 ம[ரக] சரி வழிபொ-

89 க்கிக்கு சூட்டுக்கு-

90 டுக்கிறவகைக்கு ௳ க-

91 ம் ஆக இந்த வகைக்கு செ-

92 சலவு ௳ யஇ-யும் இது-

Fourth face.

93 [வு]ந் தெழிக்கா-

94 வ வீட்டில் பொ-

95 கம் உடமயாக

96 அனுபவிச்சு-

97 கொண்டு எளு-

98 தின பிற(ா)காற-

99 ம் தற்மம் [ந]டப்[பி]-
100 லைக்[க]உம ச-
101 ருவகார்யமு
102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
105 ற்மம் நடந்துவாரவெ
106 எதொரு காலவும யா[1]-
107 தா ஒருத்த ஆகி-
108 லும் தற்மமத்து-
109 க்கு விக்கினம் வரு-
110 த்தின பெர்கள்
111 இ[ந்த] தற்மம் மு-
112 டக்கின பாவம்
113 [ஏ]ற்றுக்கொ-
114 ள்ளுவாரா-
115 கவும் இந்தப்-
116 படி தம்மதிச்-
117 சு ஷை அம்பல-
118 த்துக்கு இந்த வரு-
119 ம்படி எல்லாம்
120 தாணமாக ஆ-
121 செந்திரகாலமெ
122 தந்தெதிப்பிற-
123 தெசமெ கல்லு
124 வெட்டி நாட்டிகு-
125 டுத்த பிச்சபி-
126 ள்ளை கன்ன-
127 ம் பிள்ளை கு-
128 மரசுவாமி துணை [॥*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Āḍi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mūla-(nakshatra), and the thirteenth (*tithi*) of the first fortnight, Pichchappiḷḷai-Kaṇṇam-piḷḷai of Mañjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kuḻitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Naḍakkāvu in it, for the *paṇḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables வரவெ are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'ம் பல' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāśu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Mēlaivīṭṭu-viḷāgam situated in Mēkkiṉkarai in the village of Pākōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇḍārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīḻveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvaṉkuḷam and Pādiriyāṉkuḷam and situated in Āḻillakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Paḍappaṟa under the tank of Veṅgaraṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāṟa under the tank of Śurappālaikuḷam and situated in Muvannudēśam;

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *puṉṉai* tree standing on the land called Vayalkalakkal ;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 taḍi of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *naḻi*, three cocoanut trees and one *puṉṉai*.

The house situated in the *viḷāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *viḷāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkiviḷāgam-*purayiḍam* of Pañjukkaḍai (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araśaṉśeri-*viḷāgam*: the southern boundary is to the north of Iḍalai: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷagakōḍu-purayiḍam: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-*viḷāgam*.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money *viz.*, 12 *paṇam* due on the Mēlavīṭṭu-*viḷāgam-purayiḍam* lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for . . . . , the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves:

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches:

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Teḷikkāvu-vīḍu be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaippiḷḷai-Kaṇṇampiḷḷai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Puduvūr, a hamlet of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.[1]

1 அா௲௰-
2 ௬௵ தை
3 [மீ]செஉ பள்-
4 ளிச்சை ஈ
5 ச்சுரன் ஈ-
6 ச்சுரன் செ-
7 விசச அம்-
8 பல-
9 த்துக்-
10 கு மெ-
11 ல் ப-
12 டி ய-
13 ரன்
14 உடப்-
15 பிறந்-
16 தாள்
17 நாச்-
18 சியா
19 ராசு-
20 ந்தம-
21 மை
22 தா-
23 னம்
24 குடு-
25 தத வி-
26 லம்
27 புது-
28 ஊர்
29 குள-
30 த்து கீ-
31 ள் மு-
32 ருக்க-
33 றை
34 ௩ ப-
35 யுக்
36 சந்த-
37 தி பி-
38 றவெ-
39 சமெ
40 தண்-
41 ணீரு-
42 ம் தீயு-
43 ம் முட்-
44 டா-
45 மெ-
46 ல் இ
47 ருந்-
48 து ந-
49 —த்தி
50 வித-
51 த்து க-
52 ட[வை*]ம-
53 யும்
54 இற-
55 த்து
56 யா-
57 விச்-
58 சு செ-
59 காள்-
60 வரா-
61 ரக-
62 வும்
63 உடு-
64 ப்பா-
65 ன்
66 ஆ-
67 ண்-
68 டு ஒ-
69 ன்று-
70 க்கு [மு]-
71 வ்-
72 று ப-
73 ண
74 வு
75 ம்
76 ஒற-
77 றி[ய*]

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuraṉ-Ichchuraṉ of Paḷḷichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nāchchiyār-Āsundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkaṟai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

1 Registered as No. 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

Puduvūr, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes. (She also gave) three *paṇam* for the clothing required annually. Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkodu.

Tiruviḍaikkōḍu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkarunandaḍakkaṉ (A. D. 855)[1] of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs[2] of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*—bull (Nandi), and *kōḍu*—hill top and Tiruviḍaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vrishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions.[3]

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palæographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (=A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōḷa-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuñjattu Rāmānujan-Eḻuttachchan,[4] 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3 See page 150 below.

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form[1] and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *maṇipravāḷa* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vaṭṭeḻuttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmans who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *ḻa*, *ṟa*, *ḷa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vaṭṭeḻuttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palæographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vaṭṭeḻuttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīrarāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.[2] Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kk* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *ṟ* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop ാ, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ña*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into ●; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *śeyda*. mukaρpaḍi (*l.* 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (*l.* 6) and in juxta-position in other places *aiññūṟṟu* (*l.* 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Arya-eḻuttu except the introduction of the letters *ṟ*, *ḻ* and *ḷ* – p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayāḷam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i, e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmans in the Tiruviḍaik-kōḍu temple during the Viśākham annual festival The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*[1] we learn that a king called Vīra-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till about 550 M. E., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Krishṇankōyil epigraph[2] is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram '*chōḷapriya*' corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārt-tāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vēṇāḍu before Kollam 550.

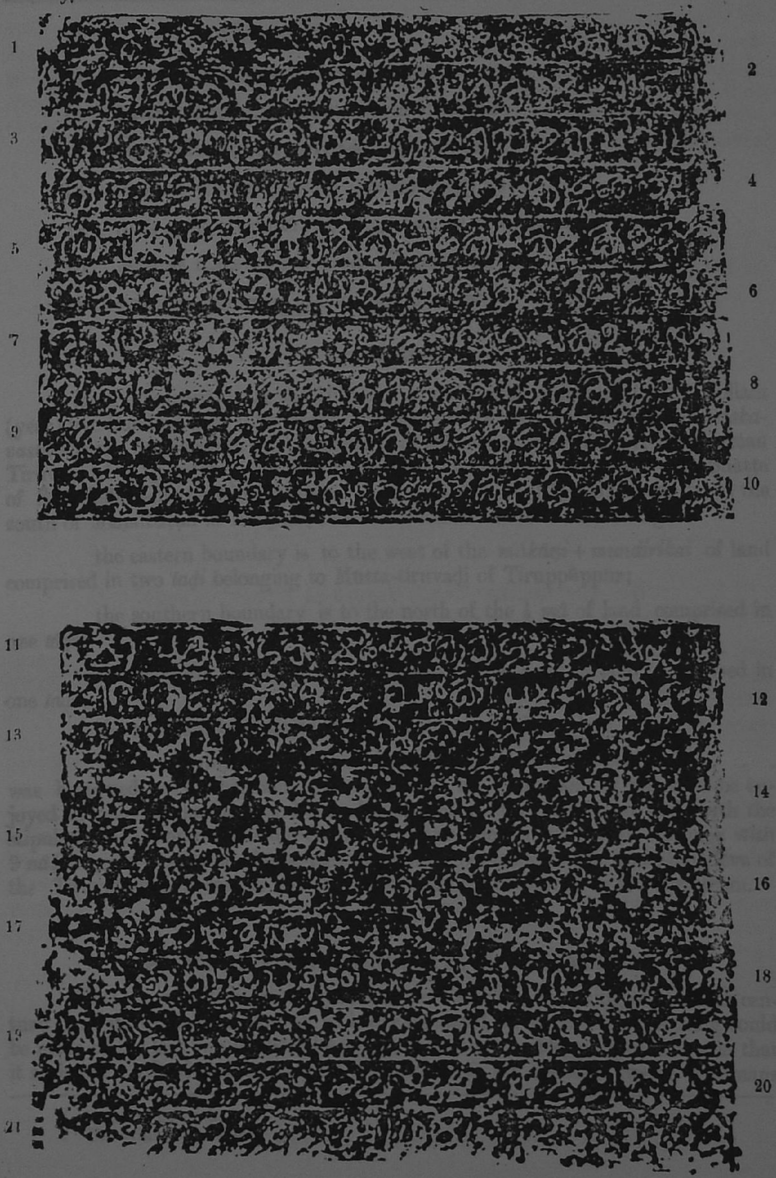
Śrīvallabha-maṅgalam, is mentioned in a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya record of Chōḷa-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Nāṭṭāṟṟu-pōkku in Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu. Manattiṭṭai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.[3]

1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ [।*] കൊല്ലം അഞ്ഞൂററു നാൽപത്തു എട്ടാ-
2 മാണ്ടു കന്നിഞായിറു ധ ചെന്റതു വെണാട്ടു വ-
3 ാഴ്ന്തരുളിൻറ കീഴപ്പെരൂ[ർ*] ഇരവി ഇരവിവന്മ-
4 ൻതിരുവടി സർവ്വഗ്രസ്തകവത്തുദാനം കൊടുത്ത നല-
5 ത്തിന്നു എഴുതന്ന തിരുമുകപ്പടി [।*] കീഴ്കളക്കുററത്തു
6 ബ്രഹ്മദെശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭ മുവെ്തിമങ്ങലത്തു ക-
7 ടവ യജ്ഞനെ രായണപ്പട്ട സർവ്വഗ്രസ്തകവത്തു നാ-
8 ഞ്ചിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കാൽ കീഴെൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പു
9 മ്മൂത്ത തിരുവടിക്ക പകുതിപട്ട തടി ൨ നില മാക-
10 ാന്നി മുന്റിയെക്ക മെൽക്ക തെന്നെൽക തടി ൧ നിലം [അ]-
11 രമാവുക്ക വടക്ക മെൽഎൽക തടി ൧ നിലം അര-
12 മാവുക്ക കിഴക്ക വടവെൽക വായ്ക്കാൽക്ക
13 തെക്ക ഇരവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടന്ത കെ . . . . . മാ-

1 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.
3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

TIRUVIDAIKKODU INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar. Scale: one-eighths.

14 . . . . . നിലം ഒരുമാ . . . . തക
15 ഉതകപൂർവ്വ തമ്മതാനമാക ആചന്ദ്രതാ-
16 രവൽ തന്തതിപ്രദെശമെ അതികരിച്ചുകൊ-
17 ണ്ടു കന്നിഞായിററു വിശാകം ആട്ടെത്തിരു-
18 നാളുക്കു തിരുവിടെക്കൊട്ടു മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാതെ-
19 വക്കു ഇല്ലുളവി[നാൽ] ൯ നാഴി [1]ചെയ്യു അരിയും ര-
20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തിരണ്ടു പെയർ പിരാമ്മണർക്കു അമു-
21 തെയക്കു നടത്തിപ്പൊകുമാറു ഇല്ലെ ആക[2]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr, who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīḻkaḷakūṟṟam is to the south of Maṇalttiṭṭai in Nāñjināḍu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *taḍi* belonging to Mūtta-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the ½ *mā* of land comprised in one *tāḍi*;

the western boundary is to the east of the ½ *mā* of land comprised in one *taḍi*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* . . . . . was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *viśākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāḻi* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādēva of the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Kaṟpaka-Seṭṭi for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line.
2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Āḷūr was called Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māṟavarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya or Jaṭāvarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya: and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōḷa king Rājēndrachōḷa-dēva.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ॥ ஆளூரா-
2 ன விக்கிரமசோழபாண்டி
3 யபுரத்து உடையான் பா[ப்ப]ணா
4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாத்தனுக்கு ப
5 ணக்குடுத்து அமாவாசி நாள்
6 பன்னிருவர் பிராமணரை
7 அமுதுசெய்விப்பது அது
8 க்கு வேண்டுங் காய்ச்சா-
9 க்கும் கறி[யு*]ம் அட்டி ழி . .
10 . க . கற்பக . . . .
11 டப்பு நாழி பால் நாழி . . கு . .
12 .... வர் செய்-
13 ெ.................................ெசக ॥

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Udaiyaṉ-Poṉṉāṇḍi and Uḍaiyāmaṅgala-naṅgai of Marudattūr, a village in Kuṟu-nāḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmans in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *ūrar* of Marudattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *oṉṟu*, *yiraṇḍu* and *mūṉṟu* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kaḍigaippaṭṭiṉam was also comprised in Kuṟu-nāḍu.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] துலாத்தில் வி[யாழன்] நின்ற மேடஞாயி-
2 ற்று குறுநாட்டு மருதத்தூர் உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and 48 of 1098 M. E.
2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. E. and 49 of 1098 M. E.

3 ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உதையன் மங்-
4 கலநங்கையும் திருவிடைக்ெ-
5 காட்டு திருகோயிற்கல் வஸவஹ-
6 வஹித்து ஏகாதஶி ஊட்டுவான் க-
7 ற்பிச்சது [।*] அகத்து திருவமிது-
8 க்கு அரி எண்ணாழியும் ப்ராஹ்மண-
9 ரெழுவற்கு கற்பிச்ச அரி பதிநாநா-
10 ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பயறு
11 நாழி வரிச்ச கறியும் [உ]லையும் நறு-
12 நெய் யுழக்கு மிளகு அரையுழக்கு
13 தெங்காய் ஒன்று மோர் மூந்நா-
14 ழி உரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
15 ம் புளியும் விறகும் இலையும் வெ-
16 வற்றிலை யொரடுக்கும் அடைக்கா-
17 ய் எழுங் கூடி ஏகாதஶிநாளில் ஊ-
18 ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்ச பூமி [।*] தொட்டிெ-
19 காட்டு வெலி மாங்கொட்டு ஞாவ-
20 ற்கற்றுடவல் நிலம் குறுணி ஐஞ்-
21 ஞாழியும் இதினொடு மூடொக்கில்
22 கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும் கூ-
23 டி நிலம் முக்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியு-
24 ம் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலம்
25 இருகுறுணியும் பிலாவழறை நில-
26 ம் நாற்குறுணியுங் கூடி நிலம் அறு-
27 குறுணியுங் கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
28 ன்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அதிகரி-
29 க்கு மவர்கள் இம்மார்க்கெ-
30 மய் செலுத்திவருவது [।*] இ-
31 தில் ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டிர-
32 ட்டி [।*] யிரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்-
33 டியுந் தெண்டமு [।*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் மரு-
34 தத்தூர் ஊராருந் தெவகன்மிகளுஞ்
35 செலுத்திவிச்சுகொள்வது [।*] தொ-
36 ட்டிகொட்டு மூடொக்கில் கூடிய
37 நிலத்தின்னு வரும் யிறை வரி நில-
38 ந் தளமுறியிலு மதின் தாழத்தை வ-
39 ட்டத்திலும் [பிராய]க்கற்றுடவலிலுங்
40 குடி எற்றி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் [கடமயி]-
41 றுத்து வருவது [।*] குழித்துடவலிலும பில-
42 ாவழறையிலும் ஒள்ள யிறை வரி நி-
43 லங் குடிமார் குழித்து[டவல்] நிலத்[தி]ல் கு-
44 டி எற்றி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் கடமயி-
45 றுத்து வருவது
46 இம்மாற்கமெ அநுஷ்டித்துவற் செல்வித[1] [॥*]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Mēḍam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Udaiyāṉ-Poṉṉāṇḍi and Uḍaiyāṉ maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuṟu-nāḍu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādaśi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāḻi* of rice;

for seven brahmans, 14 *nāḻi* of rice;

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāḻi*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḻakku*, pepper half *uḻakku* each, cocoanut one, butter-milk three *nāḻi* and one *uri*;

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, one *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādaśi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvarkaṟṟuḍaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuṟuṇi* and five *naḻi* in Vēlimāṅgōḍu near Toṭṭikkōḍu, together with two *kuṟuṇi* of land in Muḍōkku, *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* and five *naḻi*;

land in Kuḍimār-ttuḍaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuṟuṇi*; land in Pilāvaḷarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuṟuṇi*; *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuṟuṇi*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḻi*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ūrār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tāḷamuṟi and those lying below it and [1]Jñāvaṟṟuḍaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Māḍōkku in Toṭṭikkōḍu. Those who supervise the lands in Kuḍimārkuḻi-ttuḍaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḻittuḍaval and Pilāvaḷarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Tāṉuvaṉ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1 Piṟāykkuṟṟuḍaval may be Jñāvarkaṟṟuḍaval.

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkuḷam temple (*Nayiṉār Kalkuḷattu-mādēvar kōyilil dēvaputraril kaṇak-ku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man-servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvadāsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalavāsis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *agambaḍi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.[1]

First face

1 ஸ்ரீ: நன்றாக [।*]
2 திருநீலகண்ட-
3 சுவாமியும அ-
4 ம்மை ஆனந்த வ-
5 ல்லி அம்மையும்
6 இலட்ச்சிக்க[।*] கெ-
7 கால்லம் அா௱௰-
8 ஞு ஆவணிமீ ம் உடுவ
9 நயினார் கல்க்குளத்து மாதெ-
10 தவர் கோயிலில் தெய்வ-
11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு பெருமாள்
12 தாணுவன் நாச்சியார்க்கு-
13 ளத்தின் கரையில் அம்பல-
14 ம். நீர்[வ*]ரவியும் பெண்ணீ தியும்(ங்)
15 தண்ணீரும சுண்ணாம்பும்
16 மாந்தலையும் கட்டு ஆக்கி-
17 ச் செய்கிற பேர்களுக்கு சந்-
18 திராதித்தவரைக்கும் விட்-
19 டு குடுத்த நிலமாவது [।*]நாஞ்சி-

Second side.

20 னாட்டில் எதிச்சிகு-
21 ளத்தில் அய்யக்குட்டி
22 மாடன் ஒடு செரார கெ-
23 வாற்றி கொண்ட நில-
24 த்துக்கு எல்லை-
25 யாவது [।*] மெற்ப்படி
26 ஊரில் பெய்ச்சா-
27 ன் குளத்தின் கின் ந-
28 டுவில் மடைப்பொ-
29 க்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம்
30 அரமரவுக்கு எல்லை-
31 கயாவது கீழ் எல்லை-
32 க மணலிக்கரை
33 கண்டு உழவு நில-
34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
35 தெனெல்லை
36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
37 நிலத்துக்கு வடக்-
38 கு மெல்லெல்லை-
39 க மணலிக்கரை
40 கண்டு உழவு நில-
41 த்துக்கும் கிளக்கு வட-
42 எல்லை மெல்ப்படி
43 வகை நிலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

44 தெற்கு ஆக இவ்செர்ந்த பெ-
45 ருநான்கெல்லைக்கு உள்பட்ட
46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமரவும் மெ-
47 ல்ப்படி ஊரில் [நா]றக்குள-
48 த்தின கிழ்வடக்கு மடை-
49 ப்பொக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில-
50 ம் காணியரைக்காணி-
51 க்கு எல்லையாவது கிழ்-
52 எல்லை தாழைப்பெரு-
53 மாள் நிலத்துக்கும் மெ-
54 க்குத் தென்னெல்லை
55 அய்யப்பன் பெருமாள்
56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் குடு-

1 Registered as No. 12 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

57 த்த நிலத்துக்கும் வடக்கு
58 மெல்எல்லை எடுத்-
59 த(ா)பாதம பிள்ளை நில-
60 த்துக்கும் கிழக்கு வடஎல்-
61 லை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-
62 க்கும் தெக்கு ஆக இவிசேர்க்-
63 த பெருநான்கு எல்லை-
64 க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி
65 ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-
66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
67 தடி மிரண்டினுல் நில-
68 ம் முக்காணி அரை-

Fourth face.

69 க்காணிக்கு உண்-
70 டான இறைகளும்
71 பொக்கி செழும்
72 ஒள்ள மிச்சவார-
73 ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-
74 லெ யிருந்து தீயும்
75 தண்ணீரும் சு-
76 ண்ணும்பும் உப்-
77 பு வறுகாயும்
78 குடுத்து விளை (கு)றை
79 ஆராய்ந்து நடுத-
80 ல் நட்டு இருக்கிற லெ-
81 பர்கள் அடுத்து யா-
82 விச்சு கொள்ளுவ-
83 ாராகவும் இப்படி
84 யாவிச்சு பொருடெ-
85 மடத்து இந்த நில-
86 த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்
87 ம்மர்த்துக்கும் அகு-
88 தம் செய்கிற பெர்-
89 கள் கெங்கைக்க-
90 ரையில் காராம்ப-
91 சுவை கொன்ற லெ-
92 தாழத்த பொவார் ஆ-
93 கவும் [॥*].

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tirunīlākaṇṭha and goddess Ānandavalli protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumāḷ-Tāṇuvaṉ of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādēva at Kalkuḷam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkuṭṭi-Māḍaṉ in Erichchikuḷam in Nāñji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappālaṉ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— *i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāṟa]-kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tāḷaipperumāḷ; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṉ-Perumāḷ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eḍuttapādam-Piḷḷai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to Āṇḍār *i. e.*, the *tadi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries;—

in all, two *tadi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmans during *dvādaśi* in the temple of Kōḍambīśvaramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār at Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Maṇavāḷakkuṟichchi in Kaḍaigaippaṭṭaṇam, a village of Kuṟu-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.

Rājarā-Teṉṉāḍu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which Rājarāja had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kaḍigaipaṭṭaṇam was situated in Kuṟu-nāḍu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kuṟichchi* and *paṭṭinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kuṟichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kuṟiñjinila-mākkaḷ* or hill tribes and *paṭṭiṇam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (*e. g.*, Nāgappaṭṭiṇam, Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam)[1].

Text.[2]

1 [சகா]த்தம் கசுசா-
2 சயிக செல்லாநின்ற
3 மெட வியாழம் நின்-
4 ற கொல்லம்[3] கூஉன்
5 பிலவங்கவருழம
6 மெடமாதம் உயிக ெ-
7 சன்ற புதனாட்சை-
8 யு யகவும் பூர்[வ*]பக்ஷ-
9 த்து தெசமியும் கா[ச*]கர-
10 ணமும் வைறுத்தி நித்தி-
11 யயொகவும் பெ[ற்*]ற-
12 ந் நாளால் திருவிடை-
13 கொட்டு கொடப்பி-
14 இச்சுரமுடைய நயி-
15 ஞர் திருமுக்கால் வ-
16 ட்டத்தில் இருந்து இரா-
17 சராச தென்னாட்டுக் கு-
18 றுநாட்டு கடிகைபட்ட-
19 ணம் மணவாளகுறி-
20 ச்சியில் கணக்கு[3] பெருமான் க-
21 ண்டன் துவாதெசி ஊ-
22 ட்டுக்கு தானப்பிறமா-
23 ணமாக விட்ட நிலம்மா-
24 விது [।*] திருவிடைக்கெ-
25 காட்டு செய்கொல்-
26 க்குளத்தின் கிழும் வெ-

Second face.

27 ப்பறைக்குள-
28 த்தின் கிழும்
29 நீருண்டு நெல்

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1 குறிச்சி சிற்றூரே சேரி குறிஞ்சிநன்னிலத்தூர்ப்பேரம்
பதித்திடு முல்லையூரே பாடி பட்டினமே நெய்தல் — *Chūḍāmaṇi*.

2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19; '81; 32.

30 விளையும் த-
31 ட்டான்துட-
32 வல்லும் வெ-
33 ப்பறையும் தடி
34 உ வ [1]அபயும் ட-
35 ளற்றிக்குளத்தி-
36 ன் கிழ் ஊற்று
37 உள்ளிட்ட தடி
38 க வ களயும்[2]
39 இடைக்கெ-
40 ாட்டு பற்றில்
41 இடைக்கெ-
42 ாட்டு குளத்-
43 தின் கிழ் ம-
44 திலடி
45 க வ[3] ந்யும் க-
46 ணிஞாட்டு-
47 பற்றில் புங்-
48 கறைக்குள-
49 த்தின் கிழு[ம்*]
50 ஷெ தனிக்கு-
51 ழக்கிழும் வெ-
52 சல்லன்குள-

Third face.

53 த்தின் கிழும் கிரு-
54 ண்டுநெல் விளையும்
55 நெடுங்கண் தடி
56 க வ சுப[4]யும் ஷெ புரவி-
57 ல் நடுவுக்கொடு
58 தடி க வ[5]தயும் ஆக தடி
59 றினல் வ[6] உளஎப-
60 யும் துவாதெசி ஊ-
61 ட்டுக்.த சடையப்பர்
62 கொவில் ஊ-
63 ட்டுபிரை மெக்கெ-
64 க-கடையில் கல்லு
65 வெட்டி நாட்டுகையி-
66 ல் இந்த வ உாஎபயும்[6]
67 பிரமத்துவமாக தி-
68 ருவிடைக்கொட்டும்
69 கனிஞாங்கொடு
70 கிராமத்தார் வசம் கை-
71 ய்யாளிக்கெயில் சி-
72 பண்டாரக்கும் யடி
73 கடமையும் இறுத்து
74 [து*]வாதெசி தொறும் றி-
75 யெச ப்ராமணர்க்கு
76 ஊட்டுபிரையில்
77 வைச்சு ஊட்டு ந-
78 டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்

Fourth face.

79 தறவாட்டில்
80 துவாதெசி-
81 தொறும் சவ
82 அரிசி சொறும்
83 கொடுத்து தம்-
84 ம்மபத்தர் வெ[க]-
85 ள்ப்பிச்சு
86 ஆசெந்திர-
87 வற் ஊட்டு
88 நடத்திக்கொள்-
89 வாராகவும்[।*] இந்-
90 த தற்ம்மத்தை
91 நடத்திவருகி-
92 றவன் கெங்-
93 கைக்கரையி-
94 ல் காராம்பசு
95 தானம் செ-
96 ய்த பலத்தை-
97 த யடைவாரா-
98 கவும்[।*] இத்தற்-
99 மம் முடக்கின
100 பெர்கள் கெ-
101 ங்[கை] கரையில்
102 காராம்பசுவை-
103 வக் கொன்ற தொ-
104 ழம் அடையவும்[।*]
105 இந்த கல்லு
106 . . . . . [7]

1 தடி உ கிலம் எண்குறுணியும்.
2 கிலம் ஒரு கலனும்.
3 கிலம் முக்குறுணியும்.
4 கிலம் அறுகுறுணியும்.
5 கிலம் துணியும்.
6 கிலம் இருகலனே எழுகுறுணியும்.
7 The last line may have contained the word 'சாட்டிபது'.

Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēḍam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēḍam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)-karaṇam* and *vairutti-nityayōga*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ, the accountant of Maṇavāḷakkuṟuchchi (a hamlet of Kaḍikaipaṭṭaṇam in Kuṟu nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkālvaṭṭam*) of (the god) Kōḍambīśvaramuḍaiya-nayiṉār of Tiruvaḍaikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following:—

two *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṉ-tuḍaval and Vēppaṟai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kuṟuṇi*, which are irrigable by the Śeykāl and Vēppaṟai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūṟṟikkuḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* under the Iḍaikkōḍu tank in Iḍaikkōṭṭu-paṟṟu;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuṟuṇi* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgaraikkuḷam, Taṉikkuḷam, and Śellaṉkuḷam in Kaṉijñāṭṭu-paṟṟu;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Naḍuvukkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūṇi*:

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuṟuṇi* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmans) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuṟuṇi* was left as *brahmasvam* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruviḍaikkōḍu and Kaṉijñāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmans should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nāḻi* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *taravaḍ* of Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharmakarttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone . . . .

No. 44— Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruvidaikkodu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the lables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasi, 12, when the *śuṟṟ-maṇḍapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

1 பாறைச்சாலை
2 தெசத்து கணெ-
3 க்கு நாகன் ஆ-
4 திச்சன் பத்தி
5 நன்றுக்கு கொடு-
6 த்த ௪ ௱௨௰

B

1 பள்ளத்து
2 பள்ளச்சை
3 ரும்பய்யன்
4 கண்ணன்
5 பத்திகக்கு
6 ட [௱௨௰]

C

1 கழைக்கூட்ட-
2 ம் தெசத்து
3 கணக்கு இரா-
4 மன் தெவன்
5 செய்வித்த பத்-
6 தி க க்கு ௪ [௱௨௰]

D

1 பாத்திசெகர-
2 மங்கலம் தெ-
3 சத்தில் ஒற்றவி-
4 ளாகத்து விட்டில்
5 செகிவிச்ச ப-
6 த்தி க

E

1 குட்டமங்க-
2 லம் தெசத்து
3 கணக்குப் பெரு-
4 மனை தர்மன்
5 கிட்டணன் செ-
6 ய்வித்து கு-
7 டுத்த பத்திக

F

1 மருதத்தூர்
2 தெசத்து க-
3 ணக்கு இச்சு-
4 வரன் அய்யப்ப-
5 ன் செய்விச்ச
6 பத்தி கக்கு ௪ [௱௨௰]

G

1 திருவிடை-
2 க்கொட்டு
3 தெவர் புத்-
4 திரரில் புது-
5 ஊர் சடை-
6 யன் சங்-
7 கரன் தூண்

H

1 குழிக்காட்டு சா-
2 த்தன் அரங்கன்
3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
4 ஒன்று

I

1 பள்ளத்து
2 சிறபள்ளி மருதன்
3 நாகன் செ-
4 யிவிச்ச பத்தி
5 க க்கு ௪ . . .

J

1 நடுவில் விளாட்-
2 டுரையில் நலத்-
3 தான் பெருமரன்
4 செய்விச்ச
5 பத்தி க

K

1 ௭௱௬௰௯ ௵ அற்பசி
2 மாதம் ௰௨ மாச்சி-
3 கொட்டு முட்டவம்-
4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
5 ருவடி நயினார்
6 திருவனந்தாழ்வான்
7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
9 த்த ௪ ௱௨௰

L

1 ௭௱௬௰௯ ௵
2 அற்பசி மாத-
3 ம் ௰௨ திருக்கா
4 . ண்டபத்தம .
5 யில் தெக்கெ ந-
6 டையும் வடக்-
7 கெ நடையும

8 . . குற்ற . .
9 . . வித்தவ . . .
10 . . . . . .

M

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] மருதத்தூர் தெவன்
2 சொளன் எழுந்தருளிவிச்ச
3 திருப்பூப்பலகை

N

1 கல்லாற் பொதிக்கு சடயப்பர்
துணை

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavatī temple at Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉār for offerings and worship to the god Vināyaka set up by him in the *maṭha* of the village and named ChidambaraVināyaka-ppiḷḷaiyār, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10; ·83; f.d.n. ·14.

Text.[1]

1 மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொ-
2 ல்லம் ௮௱௬௰௪ கார்த்திகை
3 ௴ ௨௰௭ சனியாட்சையும்
4 சோதியும் அமரபக்ஷத்து
5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாக்கி-
6 யயொகமும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
7 பெற்ற இன்னாழால் எழுதின உத-
8 கபூறுவ தன்ம[தா]ன பட்டைய-
9 மாவது [।*] தென்னாட்டுக்குறு நா-
10 ட்டு விரநாராயணசெரிக் கி[ழ்]பால்
11 கள்ளியங்காட்டில் சிதம்பரம்
12 இளையநயினானென் ஷெ ஊரில் மட-
13 த்தில் சிதம்பர விநாயகப்பிள்ளை-
14 யார்க்கு உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான-
15 ப் பட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்த நில-
16 மாவது [।*] ஷெ ஊரில் அஞ்சனவன்
17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடித்தனிக்குழி-
18 யாலும் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
19 முடங்கன் தடி கஉ உத௲ப[2]ம் தானுக்-
20 க்கன் வயல் தடி கஉ உத உ௲ [3]ம் கிழ்ந-
21 டுவுத்தடி தடி கஉ தகப ௲உ[4] ம் கிழ்-
22 க்கரையடியும் தொழுவடி
23 ௲ம் ஆக தடி ௬உ த௲ப ம்[5] கொல்ல-

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1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 இருதுணி முக்குறுணி.

3 இருதுணிப்பதக்கு.

4 துணி குறுணி நாநாழி.

5 துணி முக்குறுணி.

24 குளத்தின் கீழ் மெட்டுமடைப்பெ-
25 ரக்கில் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கவ[1] க-
26 ள உ.தம் நெடுங்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
27 யால் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி உவஉ ள[2]ம்
29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கீழ்கரை-

Second face.

30 யடி தடி கவ [3]களத-
31 பம் ஆக தடி பல-
32 திறல் வ [4]அளப
33 ம் மநடுகுழி
34 ஆலங்குழியில்
35 தனிக்குழி இர-
36 ண்டும் அஞ்ச-
37 னவன்குளத்தி-
38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்-
39 றும் ஆலடித்-
40 தனிக்குழியில்
41 நின்று அஞ்சன-
42 வன்கொணம்
43 உள்ளிட்ட பி-
44 ள்ளையார் நில-
45 த்துக்கும் தன்-
46 மபத்தா நில-
47 த்துக்கும் பொ-
48 க்கி உள்ள தண்-
49 ணீர் பிள்ளையா-
50 ர்க்கு ஒருகூறும்
51 தன்மபத்தாவு-
52 க்கு இருகூறுமா-
53 க நடப்பிச்சு-
54 க் கொள்ளவும்
55 நாஞ்சினாட்டு
56 அழகியபாண்
57 டியபுரத்து பெ-
58 ரியகுளத்தின்-

Third face.

59 (ங்)கிளகமாய் மெல்க்கால்ப்-
60 பாக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
61 பிள்ளையார் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
62 சொரா ஒத்தியும் கொண்டநிலம்
63 முதல் தடிதடி கவ உளஉத । வ தடிதடி
64 உஉ [6]ள கூ ‖ [illegible] தடிதடி கஉ [6] [illegible] எ
65 [illegible] தடிதடி கஉ உத—‖ ரு தடிதடி உ௲ கவ எ-
66 ஷை தடிதடி கவ . உ௲ ஷை தடி தடி கவ சு-
67 [illegible] எ ஆக தடி பலதிறல் வ உ ப ளக-
68 ||| க்கும் ஆக உள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு
69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்து இயாவி-
70 ச்சு பொதுவாராகவும் [।*] இப்படி
71 இந்த உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான ப-
72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தென்
73 சிதம்பரம் இளையநயினானென்
74 சிதம்பர விநயகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலனே இருதுணி.

2 இருகலம்.

3 கலனே துணிக்குறுணி.

4 எண்கலனே குறுணி.

5 இருகலனே இருதுணி.

6 The symbols are not understood.

75 ருக்கு [|*] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
76 இளைய நயினான் எழுதது [||*]
77 பெயொட்டுப்பற்றில் ௳ ௰௲௭௬
78 ||| க்கு இறை நெல் கோ[1] ௩௰௩௰ கள்ளி-
79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் ௨ [2] அளப-
80 க்கு கடமை நெல் கோ ௬௰௩ ஆக வகை
81 உனல் ௵ க-க்கு கோ ௭௰௬ ல் பிள்-
82 ளையார் பூசைக்கு கோ ௬ ௩[4] விசே-
83 ஷ பூசைக்கு கோ ௩ மடத்து பண்டார-
84 த்துக்கு கோ ௰௩ பரதெசிய்க்கு கோ
85 உயிரு ஞ தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ ௰௨
86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ ௬ ஆக
87 ளு க-க்கு சிலவு கோ ௬௰௬ ௶[5]

Fourth face.

88 மடத்தில் நம்முடைய
89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
90 னல் ஒரு நாள் பூசை
91 சிலவு நடப்பிச்சு குடு-
92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
93 இளையநயினான் பிறந்த
94 நாள் ஆடி மீ"ம் சித்திரைக்கு
95 பரதெசிகளுக்கும் நம்மு-
96 டைய ஊராருக்கும் வை-
97 ச்சூட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு ௵
98 ௰ருள[7] க்கு உபைய[6]ம் ௭-
99 கூ[8] எ இயும் கொண்டு ந-
100 டப்பிச்சு கொள்வாரா-
101 கவும் மடத்துக்கு வெண்-
102 டும செய்தி நம்முடை-
103 ய ஊரார் விசாரித்து
104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
105 த்துக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
106 ஆராமொருவர் அகுத-
107 ம் நினைக்கிறவர் கெங்-
108 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
109 ம்பசுவை கொன்ற தெ-
110 தாஷமும் ?ரம்முத்தி-
111 யிந் தொஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை $33\frac{1}{8}$.

2 திலம் எண்கலனே பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை $76\frac{1}{8}$.

4 கோட்டை $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$.

5 கோட்டை $69 + \frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$.

6 நெல் பதினெங்கலன்.

7 நெல் கோட்டை $7\frac{1}{2}$.

112 ய்பெப்பாராகவும் இ-
113 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் தன்மத்த-
114 க்கும் வெண்டுவது நினை-
115 க்கிறவர் கெங்ஙைகயிலெ
116 கோடி தானம் பண்ணி-
117 ன பலன் உண்டாகவும் [॥*]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Makara, on Saturday, the 11th day of Kārttigai which was the thirteenth *tithi* in the Amara-paksha, and had Svātī as the nakshatra with *saubhāgya-yōga* and *āṇai-karaṇa*—on this day the following deed of gift with libation of water was drawn up:—

The lands which I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉāṉ of Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu (a hamlet) to the east of Vīranārāyaṇachchēri in Kuṟu-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Teṉṉāḍu, gave as a charitable gift with libation of water and a deed, to Chidambara-Viṉāyakappiḷḷaiyār in the *maṭha* of the same village are the following:—

one *taḍi* of land (called) Mudaṅgaṉ, (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi* (of seed), irrigable for growing paddy under the tanks (called) Añjanavaṉkuḷam and Āḷaḍittaṉikuḷi;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tulukkaṉvayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and one *padakku*;

one *taḍi* of land in the eastern portion (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and four *nāḷi*;

land in the eastern bund and three *taḍi* of land in Toḷuvaḍi in all, four *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi*;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṉpaṟambu in the course of the eastern sluice of the Kollakuḷam (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* and two *tūṇi*;

two *taḍi* of land (called) Āyatturaivayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and irrigable for paddy from Neḍuṅguḷi and Āḷaṅguḷi;

one *taḍi* of land at the eastern bund of Kāñjiraṅkuḷi (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam*, and one *kuṟuṇi*;

—thus in all, land many *taḍi* in extent and (having the sowing capacity) of eight *kalam* and one *kuṟuṇi* and two separate *kuḷi* of land in Neduṅguḷi and one in Alaṅguḷi.

Water shall be irrigated to (the lands belonging to) the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapattā* in the ratio of one to two, after (irrigating all) the lands belonging to the Piḷḷaiyar and the *danmapatta* lying between Āḷaḍittaṉikkuḷi and Añjanavaṉkōṇam.

The land which was taken on permanent mortgage in the name of the *maṭha* of Piḷḷaiyār in Pēykkōṭṭupaṟṟu in the course of the western channel of the Periyakuḷam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñjināḍu is one *taḍi* (having the sowing capacity) . . . .

For all these lands, all taxes shall be paid and the lands shall be occupied.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉāṉ, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambara-Vināyakappiḷḷaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉāṉ.

The tax on . . . . of land in Pēyoṭṭuppaṟṟu is $33\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kuṟuṇi* of land in Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu is 43 *kōṭṭai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the worship of Piḷḷaiyār, 3 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the *maṭha*-stores, $25\frac{3}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for mendicants (*paradēśis*), 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōṭṭai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *maṭha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ūrār* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Āḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Iḷaiyanayiṉār was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *maṭha* shall be looked after by the *ūrār* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *maṭha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *maṭha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of Vaishṇava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304(= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaishṇava saint Nammāḻvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D, if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvāḻmārbaṉ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammāḻvār describes the god as a sitting image of Vishṇu,

> *வருவார் செல்வார் வண்பரிசாரத்து இருந்த என்*
> *திருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறம் சொல்லார் செய்வதென்*—(VIII-3-7).

Piḷḷaipperumāḷ-Ayyaṅgār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrtti*,

> *அடியுங் குளிர்ந்தா ளறிவுங் குலைந்தாள்*
> *முடிகின்றாண் மூச்சடங்கும்முன்னே—கடிதோடிப்*
> *பெண் பரிசாரங்குப் பிறப்பித்து மீளுவார்*
> *வண்பரிசாரங் கிடந்தமாற்கு*—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

> *திருப்பதிசாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின எம்பெருமான்*

and as the present image, a *saudha-mūrtti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Piḷḷaipperumāḷ has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவண்பரிசாரம் மிருந்த மாற்கு is more acceptable. *Māṛanalaṅkāram*[1] has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tirup*pati*sāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaishṇava works invariably call it as Tiruvaṇ-*pari*sāram.

On the east wall of the first prākāra of the Vishṇu temple.

Text.[2]

1 கொல்லம் ௭௱அ௰௯ ௵ ஆவணிமாதம் உ௰ள உ அமரபக்ஷத்து சத்த-

2. மியும் வெள்ளியாட்சையும் உரோகணியும் இன்னாளால் நயினார் திருவா-
ழுமார்ப நயி-

3 னார்க்கு ஆவணி௴ம் திருவோணத்திருநாள் நடக்கும்படிக்கு அக்கர
தெசிசகுர . . சம்புநாராய-

4 ண நம்பி கணக்காக ஷ௴ம் திருவோணத்திநாள் மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
ந்தருளிச்சு சிறப்புக்கு அமு-

5 துபடி உ௲ ௬ உ பால் பாயிதத்துக்கு அமுதுபடி இருநாழி பாயிதத்துக்-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுக்கும் தெங்-

6 காய் உ பணிமாறவும் பக்கினைத்துக்கும் நெய் உழு இலையமுது ம க்கு

7 அடைக்காயமுது ரு பாயிதத்துக்கு சக்கரை பலம் ௪ திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுக்கு எண்ணை ஞ நை-

8 . . . சாமம் க ௲பாதந்தாங்கும் பிராமணர் பெர் ௪ க்கு ௳உ விந்துவா-
ங்க

9 ஞச(ஞக)க்கு ௳௲ திருமுன் பந்தத்துக்கும் விளக்கும் ௳உ திருச்சுற்றில்
எழுந்த

10 ருளிச்சால் நெத்தியத்துக்கும் பொரியமுது உஉ சற்கரை பலம் க இலைய-

11 முது மக்கு அடைக்காய் ரு சாத்துப்படி பலம் இ நயினார் சடையபுர
முனை-

12 டயநயினார்க்கு அமுதுபடி உஉ அம்பனூற்க்கண்டஞ் சாத்தனுக்கு அ-

13 முதுபடி உஉயும் அம்மை திருப்பதிநங்கைக்கு அமுதுபடி உ ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-

14 யெ நடக்கும்படி கற்பித்து நாராயணநம்பி குடுத்த ௳ாருபெ இந்-

15 த பணம் நூற்றன்பதும் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இக்-

16 தப் பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுதோறும் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பூரித்தெழுந்த புணர் முல்லைப் புல்லிவிடா
வாரித்தரளவடங்ரைதாம் — நேரிழையாய்
மட்டார் பொழில் வண்பரிசார மாதவற் காட்-
பட்டாதரித்தனவோ பண்டு — verse 549.

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

17 ல் நின்றும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் செயான் க-

18 ணக்காக துவாதெசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றாக மாதம்

19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் ௨க்கு அரிசி ௩உக்கு ை ௭உ உரியும் கறியமு-
து ை ௩உ உரி

20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்கும்மாறு கற்பிதது செயான் கணக்காக சிபண்-
டாரத்தில் குடுத்த

21 ௱௫௰ இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு சிபண்டாரத்தில் நின்றும் நட-
த்திப் பொதுவா-

22 ராகவும் [॥*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with saptami-*tithi* of the amara-paksha and Rōhiṇī-nakshatra, Śambu-nārāyaṇa-Nambi gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on Tiruvōṇam in the Āvaṇi month to the god Tiruvāḷmārban with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *śirāppu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the Tiruvōṇam day, one *padakku* and six *nāḻi* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāḻi* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḻākku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḻākku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāḻi* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, ½ *palam* of *śāttuppaḍi*, 2 nāḻi of rice to the god Śaḍaiyapuramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār, 2 *nāḻi* of rice to the Śāstā of Ambanūrkaṇḍam, and one *nāḻi* of rice to the goddess Tiruppatinaṅgai.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every dvādaśi day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāḻi* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, Kuppāṉ-chiṭṭi of the village of Piḷḷaiyārkōyil, a hamlet of Kalkuḷam in the Kollam year 961.

Text.[1]

1 உ கொல்லம் ௯௱௬௰௧ ஆவணி மீ
2 ௰௩உ குருவாரமும் அசுபதி-
3 நட்செத்திரமும் யின்னுள்
4 திருப்பதிசார கொயில்
5 ஒத்தைக்கல் மண்டபம்
6 சன்னதிநடையில் கல்[கு]-
7 ளம் பிள்ளையார்கொயில
8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் சிட்டி
9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தள[ம்]-
10 ப் பணி திருவாளிமா[ற் ப]-
11 ன் சுவாமியை சதாசெர்வ[வ] [।।*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottaikkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tiruppatisāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvāḷimārbaṉ by Kuppāṉ-chiṭṭi of Piḷḷaiyārkōvil-grāmam in Kalkuḷam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Śiva temple at Kuḻitturai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palæographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramaṉṟam for feeding brahmans.

Text.[2]

1 கர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று அமாவாஸி நாள் நாகமங்க-
2 லத்து தெவன் தெவன் பனையரிக்கண்டமு[ம்*] ஊம-
3 ன் [து]டவனும் அயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரமங்[3] தெவனு-
4 ல் ஒற்றிகொண்டு ௰உ பிராமணர் அமுர்து செய்-
5 கதின்னு கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒற்றியோலை இரண்டினும்[4] அ-
6 ச்சு நாலெகால் நிலம் முக்குறுணி அயிரமன்றத்-
7 து கெசவங் கு[ன்]றைமெல் உரி அரி செலவின்ன அயிர-
8 மன்றத்து பத்தனுபன் திருவிக்கிரமன் வெயண்டும் அ-
9 ச்சு அஞ்சு [।*] செறுகுண்டேர் குளகிழைக் கவி ஓபாதிக்கு
10 பூவழி
11 நெல் நால்க்குறுணி பாகொட்டு கொடவறைமண் புரைய்-
12 யடமு மதின்மெனு மதின்கீழ் கண்டத்தின் மெனு[ம்*] வி-
13 ரிச்சிக விளக்கின்னு எண்ணை மடை அறுநாழி அ-

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1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

3 Perhaps we have to read விக்கிரமங்.

4 Read இரண்டாலும்.

14 ர் நாழி வெற்றிலே அடைக்காய் நூறும் மருதகைவ-
15 ளாகத்தின் மேல் எண்ணை மு[ந்நாழி] அரி நா[ழி] உரி
16 சூழூர் கொன்னிரத்தறை உழுத்து மேல் வடக்கின் தெவர்-
17 க்கு விரி[ச்*]சிக விளக்கின்னு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பந்திருநா-
18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவமிர்தின்னு நெல் [க]லம்
19 மருதன் கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமேல் பூவழி தெவர்க்கு நெல்
20 [நா]ழி புதுமனைப் புரையிடத்தின் மேல திங்கள வாரம் அ-
21 ம்பலத்தில் அந்திவிளக்கின்னும் நெய் நாழி உரி கடந்தான்கொ-
22 ட்டின்மேல் விள[ஞவில் சிற]வித்து கடமையால் நெல் கலம்
23 பாறலுரவரள் தெக்கின[டத்து] கமு[ங்]கரைக்[கொ]ட்டின் மேனு-
24 ந் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு நந்தாவிளக்கிமர[2] நெய் [நா]ழி[3]
25 செருப்பாதியறை மேல் பத்தனபன் குட்டன்
26 வெண்டு[ம்*] அச்சு
27 உ௲உ௰௫

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkaṭaka, Vikkiraman-Dēvan of Āyiramaṉṟam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Paḷaiyarikkaṇḍam and Ūmantuḍaval belonging to Dēvaṉ-Dēvaṉ of Nāgamaṅgalam, ordered the feeding of 12 brahmans and assigned $4\frac{1}{4}$ *achchu* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of land (incorrect for paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhaṉ-Tiruvikkiramaṉ of Āyiramaṉṟam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kuṉṟaraimuri of Kēśavan of Āyiramaṉṟam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kuṟuṇi* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śeṟukuṇḍūr, the yield from the *puraiyiḍam* of Koḍavaṟaimaṉ in Pākōḍu as well as from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḷi* of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḷi* of rice, betel leaves, areca-nuts and chunam:

three *nāḷi* of oil and (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called) Marudagai-viḷāgam: 12 *nāḷi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the field of Koṉṉirattaṟai in Śūḷūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal:

(one) *nāḷi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kāḷarai in Marudaṅkōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudumaṉaippuraiyiḍam is for the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from . . . . of Kaḍandāṉkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhaṉ-Kuṭṭaṉ of Śeṟuppādiyaṟai received 225 *achchu* from (the income of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḷi* of ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the people of Pāralūr.

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1 வ looks like ஞ.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like இமர.

3 This may also be read as கு but நாழி is the correct reading.

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archæological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

"Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible."

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

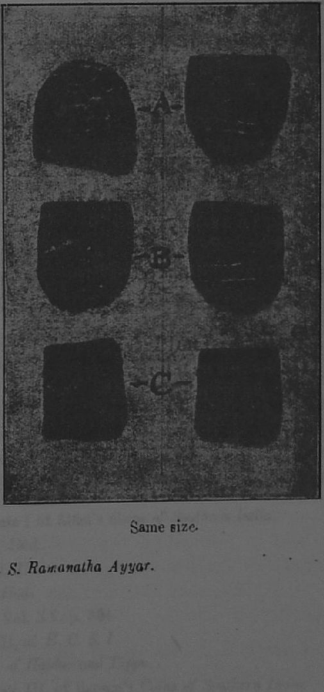
All the three specimens are double-die coins but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the punches, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural purity of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it, is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

(1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
(2) a *Svastika* symbol;
(3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadāsa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *liṅga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
(4) the Crescent, and
(5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

(1) an *aṅkuśa* or elephant-goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
(2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
(3) a *bhadraghaṭa* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
(4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

THREE CHERA COINS.



Same size.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted. would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India. the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,[1] on the coins of the Āndhra,[2] the Yādava,[3] and the Koṅgu[4] dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgas,[5] and Vijayanagara kings[5], on the Mysore issues— both Indian[6] and Muhammadan,[7] and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley[8]. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth. and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,[9] of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus[10] (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*[11] (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness[12]. The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandrārkam*' and '*chandrādityar-uḻḻavarai*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

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1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India.*

2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid.*

3 No. 92 on Plate III, *Ibid*

4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid.*

5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 304

6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*

7 Henderson's *Coins of Haidar and Tippu.*

8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III. of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India.*

9 Rapson p. 36.

10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.

11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.

12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Jivakachintamani*:

பரந்தொளியுமிழும் பைம்பொற் கண்ணடி பதாகை தோட்டி
விரிந்திருண் மேயுஞ் செம்பொன் விளக்கு வெண்முரசு கும்பஞ்
கரந்தவெண் மதியைச் சூன்று கதிர்கொண்டு தொகுத்தபோலும்
பொருந்து பொற்கதிர்பெய்கற்றை புணர்சயல் போர்த்தவன்றே— *Gandarvadattaiyar*, v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandrādityakula,[1] the luni-solar race. The *aṅkuśa*[2] (Tamil-*tōṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalaśa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Koḍlūr plate[3] of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achchu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,[4] was current both in the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam[5] and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiriyakki-achchu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Uṇḍi-achchu* and *amudaṇ-achchu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achchu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyanturuttu by Kumaraṇ-Śrīkaṇṭhan Tirumūlpāḍ of Maṅṅāḍu to Davidaikkel Paradēśi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayāḷam characters and found among the *ōlai* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*kochchiyil-kuḍi-irikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvida may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *koṇḍāṇ* in l. 8.

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1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59.

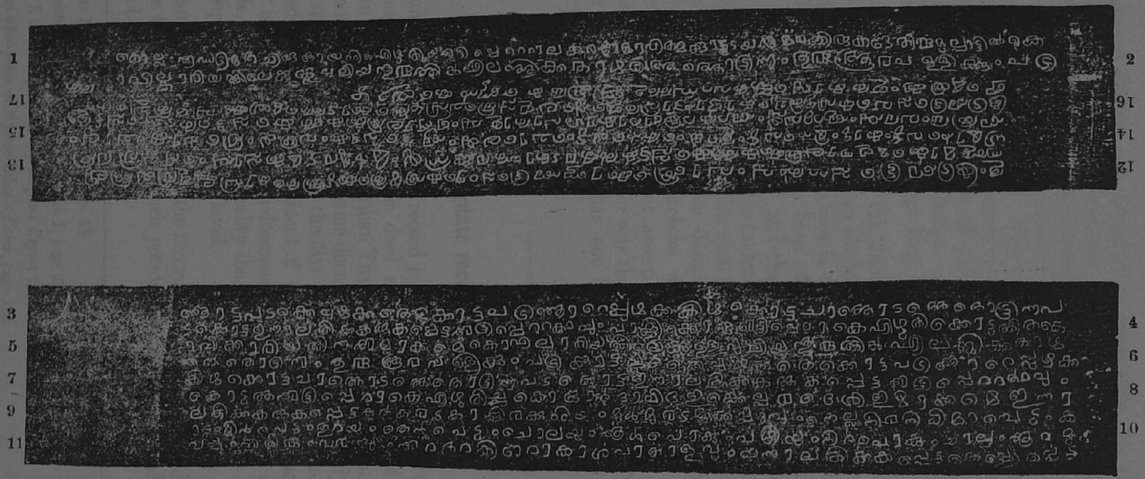
2 *Elements* of *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paisa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav. Archl. Series*, Part I, Vol. III.

COPPER PLATE DATED KOLLAM 925.



Scale: one-half.

Text.

First side.

1 കൊല്ലം ൯൨൫ മത ചിങ്ങഞായററിൽ എഴുതിയ അട്ടിപ്പെററാലക്കര-
ണമാവിത [ു*] മ[ാ*]ങ്ങാട്ടടയ കുമരഞ്ചിരികണ്ട തിരുമുൽപാട്ടിൽ
കെ-

2 ാവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പുലിയന്നുരത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴത്തെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തുരപള്ളിക്കും പടി-

Second side.

3 ഞ്ഞാട്ട വടക്കെപുഴക്ക തെക്കൊട്ട പടിഞ്ഞാറെപുഴക്ക കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാ-
ത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന വ-

4 ടക്കൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട അട്ടിപ്പെററത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തിത കെ-

5 ാവിക്കാരിയത്തിന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ കൊവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പുലിയന്നു
രുത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴ-

6 ത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തിരപള്ളിക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാട്ട വടക്കെപുഴക്ക തെ-
ക്കൊട്ട പടിഞ്ഞാറെപ്പുഴക്ക

7 കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന വടക്കൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെററത്ഥവും

8 കൊടുത്ത അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാൻ ദാവിതഇക്കെല്പെരതെചി
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാ-

9 ലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ചിരക്കററിയും മുരം മരട മുരക്കപ്പുരംപും
നെല്ല നീര നിധി മാംപെട്ടും ക-

10 ാട്ടും മീമ്പെട്ടും തുറെയും തെൻപെട്ടും ചൊലയും ആരാംപൊകും വഴിയും
നീർപൊകും കാലും ആററു-

11 വയ്പ്പും അതിരും പരമ്പും അറ തറ കിണറ റാകാ ച പാതാളവും ഇന്നാല
തിക്കകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ട-

First side (contd).

12 തും കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെററത്ഥവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
ടുത്തിത കൊവിൽക്കാരിയത്തി-

13 ന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ഞിരക്കററിയും

1 Registered as No. 2 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

മുഠം മുരട മുരക്കപ്പുരമ്പും നെല്ല നീര നി-

14 ധി മാൻപെട്ടം കാട്ടം മീൻപെട്ടം തുറയും തെൻപെട്ടം ചൊലയും ആഠം പൊകം വഴിയും നീർപൊകം കാല്യം

15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആററുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാകാച പാതാളവും ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും

16 ക്രടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ച കൊണ്ടാൻ ദാവിതഇക്കെൽ[പരദെശി*] [||*] ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-

17 ണ്ടമെയിക്കം ഇത കാവുങ്കെൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിരുകണ്ടൻ കയ്യെഴു-ത്ത [||*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Simha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the Elaññi and Turutturapaḷḷi, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of Śāttōḍu–which were under the management of Kumaraṉ-Śirikaṇḍan Tirumūlpāḍ of Māññāḍu, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *aṭṭippēru* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind Elaññi and Turutturapaḷḷi, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in Śāttōḍu—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for Dāvida-ikkel-paradēśi. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel- beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by Dāvida-ikkel-paradēśi.

This is the signature of Uṇṇi-Śrīkaṇṭhan of Kāvuṅgal-parambu (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Siva temple at Iḷamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vīra Mārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Iḷamba.

Text.

1 ഇളമ്പൈ പുതിയകോയിക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാൎത്താണ്ഡ

2 ഇരവിവൎമ്മ തിരുവടിക്കൈമെന്ത കൊയിക്ക-

3 ന്മികെശം ചെയ്യിച്ച തിരുപ്പണി ൭൱൮൰൧ മാണ്ട

4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-

5 ണ്ഡപമും പണിചെയ്യിച്ച [൩]ധനു മാണ്ട കലശപ്പ[||*].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Iḷamba by the officers of the king Śrī Vīramārttāṇḍa Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the maṇḍapa which were commenced in the Ṛishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-ambalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Iḷamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records. both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.

1 വരിക്കംപ-

2 ലി ഇരാമപ്-

3 പിള്ള ചെയി-

4 പ്പിച്ച തൂണ

B.

1 നാണി

2 ചെല്വര-

3 ായപ്പി-

4 ള്ള ചൈ-

5 യിച്ച തൂണ

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1 Registered as No. 123 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

A. B. C. D.—Registered as Nos. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

C.		D.	
1	നവരക-	1	அது உரு
2	ഞ്ഞ ചാരി-	2	முக்காணி
3	കുമരൻ കെ-	3	நலதின
4	ചവൻ ചെ-	4	நல்ல
5	യിച്ചു ത്തുണ	5	ப் பெருமாள்
		6	ளை ஆண்டு

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official ; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Ṟartīcha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *ṟ* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āṭchandira* for *āchandra*, *Ṟarttitcha* for *Raktāksha*, *detchaṇāyina* for *dakshiṇāyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eḻuttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repitition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eḻuttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōgippara-dēśis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṉavāḷ* of the temple at Suchindram. [1]*Āṉavāḷ* (or *āṉaivāḷ*, *āṉaivāḷ* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āṇai* (skt. *ajñā*). *Āṇiyam* and *āṇatti* (skt. *ājñapti*) occur in Huzur Office plates of Karunandaḍakkan. *Āṉaivāḷ* is divisible into *āṇai* + *vāḷ* and may be analogous to the suffix in *nāḍuvāḷ* and *vāḷkkai-vāḷ* of records. *Āṇavālu* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṉavāḻ—agattu-āṉavāḻ* and *puṟattu-āṉavāḻ* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēśis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Emberumāṉ:—

'சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திருமூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாலத்து'

and 'பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு'—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 சகாப்தம் [௲௩௱] [௬௰*]என் மேல்ச் செல்லாநின்ற தனுவியாழம் மிதினச்சனி கொல்லம் ௬௱[௨]௰௧ ஞாயிற் [றற்]றீட்ச ஞாயிறு தெட்ச-

2 ணாயினமான அல்பசி ௴ ௨௰௨ [2]சோமவாரமும் புணர்பூசநட்செத்திறமும் திதி பூறுவபட்ச்சத்து சத்தமியும் சித்திநித்திய நாமயோகமும் ஆ-

3 னைகரணமு[ம்*] பெற்ற ஞெள் னறு பகல் ௰௪ நாளிகையில் தனுராசி கெராத்தில் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-

4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டயோகிப்பரதெசிகள் பேர் ௨௰௩ம் ஆனைவாளாகக் கண்டுகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-

5 மூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான காலத்திலுங்கந்த அடிமைகள் யோகிப்பரதெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலுந் திருவறையிலும்

6 காணும்படிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமுங் கைய்க்கொண்டு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிட்டு

7 உள்ளதுக் கெல்லாங் கெழ்விப்பு மாச்சிலையுமாக ௲ம் பணமும் பிரிப்பிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தரமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடங்கின காராமை நிலம் ௨௰௧ ன்படிக்கு ௨௰ கொட்டை இருபத்துமூணும் ஆட்டவிசெஷமாக விசெ-

9 ஷத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அடுக்க படித்தரமும் மெங்மெலும் அடியெந்திரம் பொமெல காராமை அதிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு

10 தெந்திருவெங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு

11 யொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பெர் ௨௰௩-ம் ஆச்செந்தரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக நடக்குமபடிக்கு செமபிலுஞ் சிலயிலும் வெட்டி-

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1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Ephemeris.*

12 ப்பிச்சுக் குடுத்தோம் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கோவிலுக் குகந்த-
தானத்தார்கள் எழுத்து . . . .

13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து

14 ஷெ கணக்கு தாணுமாலையப்பெருமாள் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of **Raktāsha** (Raṛtītcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūśam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāḻigai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāśi:—

the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Āṭkoṇḍa-yōgipparadēśigaḷ* as *āṉaivāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēlvi* and *āchchiṉai* on all lands belonging to the temple of Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār, and Teṉ-tiruvēṅgaḍa-viṇṇavar Emberumāṉ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōṭṭai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kārāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṉattār* of the temple of Nayiṉār Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēśis* were appointed as the *āṉaivāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāṇumālaiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu is engraved on the base of the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṉ, a native of Kuṉṟattūr. The temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandaḍakkaṉ, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṉ and not as Aḍakkaṉ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

1 The words *eḻuttu* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [|*] இடபத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு குன்றத்தூர் காமந் தடக்கன் பார்த்திவசேகரபுரத்து தேவர்க்கு

2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிய[2] விளக்குக்கு எருக்கி[லை] மண்ணென்ற தோட்டமும் புறவறை தடியிரண்டும் உதிக்கால்மண்க்கோட்டும் குலக்குடிப்பழ—[3]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Ṛishabha, Kāmaṉ-Taḍakkaṉ of Kuṉṟattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśēkhara-purattu-dēva, *vriśchika* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaimaṉ together with two *taḍi* of Puṉāvaṟai as well as Udikkālmaṇkōḍu . . . .

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkaḍittānam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Vishṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammāḻvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Vishṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, etc. The *Māṟanalaṅkāram*[4] of Tirukkurukaippirāṉ and the *Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-antādi*[5] of Piḷḷaipperumāḷ-Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammāḻvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāymoḻi* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

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1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read விருச்சிக.

3 The inscription is inoomplete.

4 மண்டாரமுற்கான் மழைதழைக வான் பொருள்வாழ்
வுண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பென்று—வண்டர்
மருந்தே பெறப் புரந்தமால் கடித்தானத்தா
னிருந்தே நிறந்தேநிதற்கு. —*Māṟanalaṅkāram*, v. 528.

5 காணவிரும்புமென்கண் கையுந்தொழவிரும்பும்
பூணவிரும்புமென்றன் புன்றலைதான்—வாணன்
றிருக்கடித்தானத்தான் றிரியாண் றண்டான்
றிருக்கடித்தானத்தானைச் சென்று. —*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-Tiruppati-antudi*, v. 72.

Tirukkaḍittānam, the *Kēralōlppatti* and the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*[1] give it the denomination of Trikkoḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who weilded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*[2]. But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkadittanam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkaḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāmaṉ. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarmaṉ and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḻiṉṟa*, *vāḻunna*, *irunna*, *amaichcha*, *ammiñña*, *oḻiñña*, *pāḍutāṅṅuvidu*, *kaḻaññu*, *nīkkinnum*, *eḻudichchidu*, *viṭṭichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḻukiṉṟa*, *vāḻnda*,*irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *oḻinda*, *pāḍutāṅguvadu*, *kaḻañju*, *nīkkiyum*, *eḻudivittadu* and *viḍuvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti srī* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabhai*, *śa* in *dēśakālam* in (*l.* 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (*l.* 2).

Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi is the god's bath, *paḷḷi* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi* might also mean the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*paḷḷi* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,[1] where the five musical instruments, *jeṇḍai*, *timilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaittāḷam* and *kāḷam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkar however give another list of five instruments: *taṭṭaḷi*, *maddaḷi*, *karaṭigai*, *tāḷam* and *kākaḷam*.

Koṭṭādu-puḷḷippaḍil is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *puḷḷi* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*puḷḷi*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

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1 ഋക്കാലം ചെൻറിമയവർത്തൊഴും തിർക്കൊടിത്താനമമ്പി-
ൻറക്കാർവണ്ണൻ ചരണയുഗളം കുപ്പിനെരെന്നടന്നാൽ
—*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, x. 126.

2 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

fines from them; and *puḷḷippaṭṭavar* and *puḷḷippaṭṭa-nel* (*l.* 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Paṭṭāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Paṭṭāyappuṟa* and *paṭṭāyakkeṭṭu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of Nāyar, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyaṉ* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḻnna-nāyar* (*l.* 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañchamāśabdam*) in the temple of Bhaṭāra at Tirukkaḍittāṉam, for which service certain lands were given by Śennaṉ-Tāyaṉ of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ūr*, *pariḍai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkaṉ-Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ of Maṇalmaṉṟam, who was the governor of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kaḻañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṉaḍigaḷ*)

50 *kaḻañju* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḻumavaṉ*) and

25 *kaḻañju* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḻkkai-vāḻumavaṉ* namely, the *dēśavāḻi*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīḻśānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇimakkaḷ*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ūrāḷar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ūrāḷar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill-feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *muṉṉūṟṟuvar*-assembly (of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāmaṉ in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palæographical

grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāmaṉ was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulaśēkhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripūṉittuṟa temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōdai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādichchaṉ, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palæographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāmaṉ of the Tirukkaḍittāṉam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிரண்டு இ
தின் னெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற கர்க்கடகஞாயிற்று
திருக்கடித்தானத் தூராரும் பரடையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[ை]ழ
நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கஞ் சிரிகண்டனும் இவகள் மு
க்கால்வட்டத்து அவிரொத்[த்*]தர்ல்க் கூடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[||*] படாரருடைய் பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாய
னுடைய இடைய்யிடும் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறலவெலிக
ரியும் வட்டக்கரியும் பயிற்ருட்டியாகின்ற நில்த்தில் இவன்னுள்ள கூ
றும் தென்வாய்ப் பலிக்கணத்தில்[2] அவன்னுள்ள படகாரமும் இச்
சொன்ன நிலமும் புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாயனுடைய
யிடையி டித்தனேயும் மற்றும் பினுள்ளதெல்லாம் உள்ளொடுங்க ஊ
ரும் பரடையும் ஸபையும் இவகள் திருவுள்ளம் அவிரொதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுழை நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன்

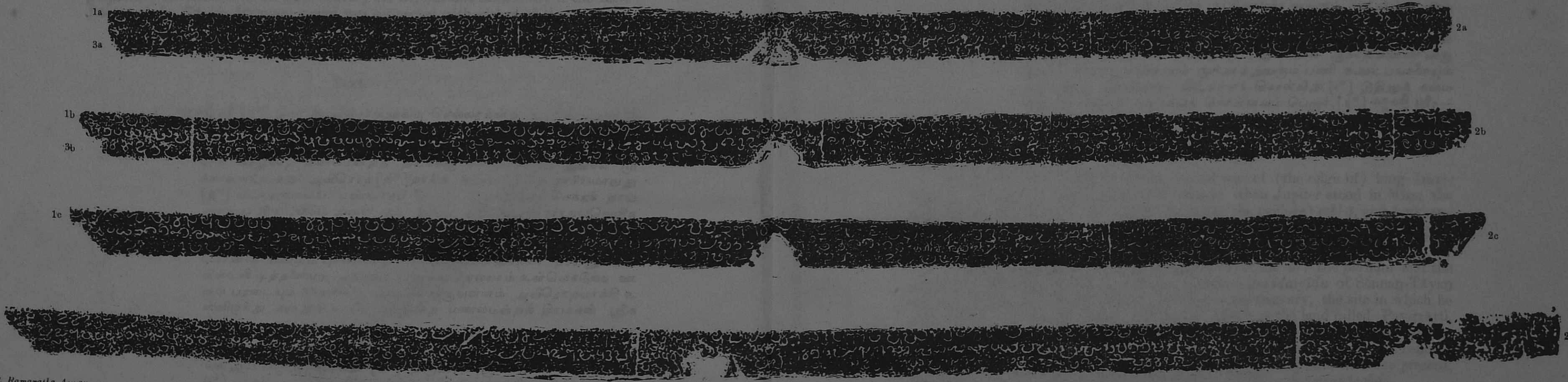
2 பஞ்சமாஶப்த[3] அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [||*] நிராட்டுபள்ளி
க்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [||*] திருப்பலிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவிது
[|*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படில்ப் பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுவிது [|*] மூன்றுதெஶகாலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எறின நெல் கொடுத்து கொட்டுவிது [|*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெனி
மெலாட்டுவிது [|*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [|*] மற்றெருழிஞ்ஞு
எண்ணை திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [|*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பலிக்கண்டத்தில்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமஹாஶப்தம்'—the five great sounds *viz.*. *śendai*, *timilai*, *śeganḍi*, *kaittaḷam* and *kaḷam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, *l*. 352-3.

TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF RAVI-RAMA: $2 + 1\frac{1}{3}$ YEAR.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one eighths.

வான் அமைஞ்ஞு பணிமக்கள் அடுத்து மூன்றுநாள் முட்டுகில் கிழ்ச்
சாந்தியுடையவன் கிழ் அமைஞ்ஞு பரிசு கொள்விது [।*] பலநாள் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டின அள[வு*] கண்டு ஊராளர் திருமெனி மெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [।*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஶப்தம் விலக்கி மூ
ட்டிக்குமவனும்

3 இதினுக் கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புரையிடமும் பத்தாயமும் விடுவ்விதாக [।*]
பாடுதாங்ஙுவிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊராண்
மைக் கிடையிடுங் கெட்டு பெருமானடிகள்க்கு நாற்றுக் கழஞ்ஞு
பொன்னுங் நன்று[ை*]ழ நாடு வாழும[வ*]ர்க்கு அய்ம்பதின் கழ
ஞ்ஞும் வாழ்க்கைவாழுமவனுக்கு இருபத்தைங் கழஞ்ஞு பொன் ற
ண்டப்படுவிது [।*] இப்பரிசிங் நாடுவாழ்ந்ந நாயரும் மூந்நாற்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகளும் உள்ளிருந்து இக்கச்சம் எழுதிச்சிது [।*] பணிம
க்களும் இதினுக்கு வருந்துப்பு வி[ல*]க்கினும் வருவிது [।*] ஒயாமில்
ஊராளரெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [।*] இவகளில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழுமவரையும் மூந்நாற்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகளையும்
உருவதிச்சு அவகளால் விட்டிச்சுக் கொள்விது [।*] இதினுக் கமை
ஞ்ஞு நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுங் கொள்ளவும் பெறார் [॥*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-Rāmaṉ was current, in the month of Karkaṭaka when Jupiter stood in Mīṉa, the *ūrār* of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, the council (*paradai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkaṉ-Śirikaṉṭhaṉ of Maṉalmaṉṟam governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, met together amicably in the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the *ūr*, the *paraḍai* and the *sabhā* for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Śennaṉ-Tāyaṉ of Teṉśeri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he was residing, Jñāṟalvēlikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payiṟṟāṭṭi, and his share as *paḍakāram* in Teṉvāyppalikkaṉ[ḍ*]am—with all these above-mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Śennaṉ-Tāyaṉ of Teṉśeri, Iyakkaṉ-Śrīkaṉṭhaṉ of Maṉalmaṉṟam governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, who was present, provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi*) and four (men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*puḷḷippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḻi*. If there is default for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's) bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing (the work of) *kīḻśānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīḻśānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ūrāḷar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyīḍu*) under the *ūrāṇmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṉaḍi*), fifty *kaḻañju* to the chief governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, and twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāḻkkai-vāḻumavaṉ*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Naṉṟuḷai-) nāḍu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ūrāḷar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ūrāḷar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍuvāḻumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

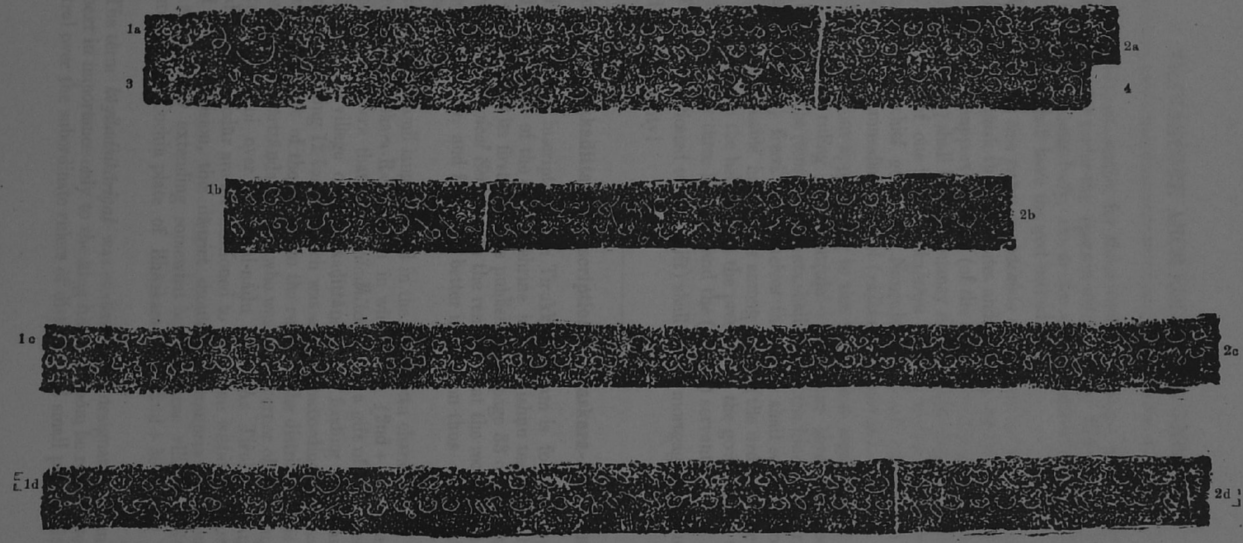
No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkaḍittāṉam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkaḍittāṉam for feeding 24 brahmans in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu, was given administrative control over Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu also. As Tirukkaḍittāṉam, Peruneyil and Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one-eighths.

Vēṇāḍu, Naṉṟuḷaināḍu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayarāgadēva figuring as a *kōyiladhikāri* in the records of Sthāṇu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulaśēkhara-chakravartin in a Quilon epigraph of Kollam 278. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of '*iḷangū-ṟu-vāḷunnaruḷiyār*', by which was meant that of the *iḷankō* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*iḷangō-kūṟu, iḷangūṟu*); and that these *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devasvam Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *taḷiyādiri* of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* and the *taḷiyāḷvāṉ* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere[1] been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikāri* may have originated from the time when the Sāmanta-kshatriya chiefs whose services had been requisitioned by the brahmanical landed gentry of Kēraḷa for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Saṅkētams* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription[2] of the time of Bhāskara-Ravi from Peruṉeyil mentions two individuals Ravi-Kaṇṇi of Veḷḷūr and Kumāra-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kūlamaṅgalam as the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ*, and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amachchu*, *vāḷnnu* and *kaḷaññu* are used in place of *amaittu, vāḷndu,* and *kaḷañju*.

Text.[3]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொப் பாக்கரனிரவிவர்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
யாண் டிரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் பந்திராமாண்டு வெணாடுடைய
[4]கொவர்தனம் மார்த்தாண்ட[னை] அவமச்சு நன்றுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்த
திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டிலுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்ளும் உடம்பா
ட்டால் வாழ்க்கை ஆக [பாட்ட][5] இடங்கழியால் பந்திரு கலந் நெல்
ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[மை]மச்சு மிக்கது அட்டி கொடுத்து அது

1 *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 44.

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (No. 94 of 1086).

4 Cancel ம.

5 The reading is tentative.

2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாலு கல மக்கிர மமச்சருளினர் கொவிலதிகாரிகள் [||*] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூடிக் கொடுக்கசுடவியர் [||*] திருவக்கிரத்திறு விரொதம் பண்ணி முட்டிக்கு மிடையிடன் கொயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)ங் கழைஞ்ஞு பொன்னு நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞெ அஞ்சு காணமு வாழ்க்கை வாழுமவர்க்கு அறுக-

3 ழைஞ்ஞெ இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொன்னுங் கூடத் தண்டம்

4 படக்கடவியன் [||*] பாடுதாங்குமவறு மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் ஸ்ரீ [||*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, the Kōyiladhikārigaḷ after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Vēṇāḍu, to administer Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkol*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkaḍittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḻkkai*-tax) due to the *nāḍu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ūr* and *poduvāḷ* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḻumavaṉ*).

The *iḍaiyīḍaṉ* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikārigaḷ, twelve *kaḻañju* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḻañju* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḻkkaivāḻumavar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *poṉ* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam and is found engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu was administering Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhāskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Vēṇāḍu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gaṇa* and the *poduvāḷ* of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*koṭṭigaḷ*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiluḍaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *uvachchars* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கொபாற்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
யாண்டிரண்டினெதிர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெணுடுடைய கொவர்
த்தனமா[ர்த்]தாண்டன் நன்றுழநாடுவாழத் [திருக்கடி]த்தானத்து

2 பரிடையுங் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] நன்றுழநா[ட்*]டு முந்
நூற்றுவரும் பணி செய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்றங் கொவிந்தனும்
[ஊம]மன்றத் திரவியிராமனுங் கூடி . . . . . . கச்சமாவிது [।।*] திரு
க்கடித்தானத்து

3 திருக்கொயிலுடையாருங் கொட்டிகளுடைய விருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும்
அவை யுழவு உழவும் பெறூர் [।*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது
ஆளும் ஒற்றிகொள்[ளுமவன்] . . . . யுமவன் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு இ-

4 ருபத்து நாற்க்கழைஞும் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞு பொ-
ன்னுந் தண்டப்படுவிது [।*] அவன்கு பாடுதாங்குமவனும் இத்தண்ட
மெ படுவிது [।*] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி . . . . இடையிடு கூடி
யிரு கூடி . . . . . . க்கு வாதிச்-

5 சொர்க்கு உழவடுத்து கொள்ளக்கடவர் [।*] அது விலக்குமவர்ளும் இ
த்தண்டமெ படுவிது [।*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிகிழ மைஞு
வ்ண்ணமெ கணத்தாருஞ் சாந்தி செய்யுமவாளுங் கண்டுகொள்வித்து
[।*] உவச்சகள்

6 எழுதிது [।।*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Vēṇāḍu was also administering Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, the *parishad*, the *gaṇa*

1 Registered as No. 48 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. This has been published incompletely — *T. A. S.*, Vol. II p. 40.

and the *poduvāḷ* of Tirukkaḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu and the (temple) servants Kuṉṟaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Neḍumpuṟam and Ravi-Rāmaṉ of . . . . having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār*) at Tirukkaḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*koṭṭikaḷ*). The *ūrāḷar*, *iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāḷ* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ūrāḷar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kaḷañju* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kaḷañju* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

.... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gaṇa* (members) and those who perform the *śānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachchar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkadittanam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṉ-Rāmaṉ of Muttūṟu made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhaṭārar*) at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.

Muttūṟu, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* in the following lines:

മുത്തൂററിച്ചെന്നിനിയ പുഴയും പിന്നിലിട്ടേച്ച ഗംഗാ
മുത്തീശ്ച തപം വിരവൊടു സഖേ നാല്പകോടിക്ക ചെൽക. v. 125.

Text.[1]

I முத்தூற்று தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழாரர்க்கு நாநாழி அரி திருவமி-
2 ர்து உச்சையகத்து பந்திரடிக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்ச பூமி [।*] கண்ணன் கரி தெஙியவும் எடை-
3 யப்புரையிடமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியுமிவ் ற்றில்[ப்]பாதி [॥*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṉ-Rāmaṉ of Muttūṟu set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāḻi* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhaṭāra*) of Tirukkaḍittāṉam are the following:—the whole of Kaṇṇaṉkari, and half of the lands (called) Eḍaiyaṉ-puraiyiḍam, Moḻiyar-vāḻkkai, Maṉṉa-vēli, and Maṇalōḍi.

1 Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. (same as No. 92 of 1086.)

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādil-kāḍu by Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḻuvakkōṉ of Kīḻumalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkuḍittāṉam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, made it over to Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkūḻam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, or 6 *kaḻañju* of pure gold.

Kīḻumalai-nāḍu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Toḍupuḻa and a portion of Mūvāttupuḻa. The capital of this independent principality was Kārikkōḍu near Toḍupuḻa and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.[1] It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkumkūṟu in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vaḍakkumkūṟu adopted the Rāja of Toḍupuḻa, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkuḻam is also a village in the Karimaṇṇūr pagudi of the Toḍupuḻa taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māḻuvakkōṉ made a gift in favour of the Vishṇu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tulā, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahāśabda*. In it also, Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkuḻam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'குடுமுறையும் வருவித்து அறுகழஞ்சு பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'அட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாற்றி கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துளைப்பொன் உரையும் துளையும் வழுவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tuḻai*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word '*vaḻuvādadu*', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 *Vide. Bhāshāpōshiṇi* for 1096, p. 15.

ആണ്ടും പുകഴും കൊല്ലമെഴുനൂററമ്പത്തുനാലുകൾ
അന്നവിടെനിന്ന തിങ്ങളും ഒന്നു ചെന്ന വൃശ്ചികം
അന്നു മന്നികണ്ടർ മുടിമന്നനരുളം ചെയ്തു
അന്നുമിന്നോടെ തന്നെ ഭൂമിഭാരമിന്നിവിടെ
അരചനു രാജമണികണ്ടവിരാ കീഴ്മലവാഴുംകോയിൽ
അതമ്മളപ്പോലെ കരുതണമെങ്കിൽ കരുതി വരഞ്ഞിമെന്നേൽ — *Paḻḻ'ppāṭṭu* p. 76.

here expressed by the positive word *varuvidu*, 'which possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்க கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திங்களாண்ட திருவோணத்தின் னாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டார[ர்*]க்கு கிழுமலையுடைய[2] கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கோன் நந்தாவிளக் கமைச்-சான் [||*] இந் நந்தாவிளக்கி-

2 னு தன்னுடைய நெல்வாதில்காடாகின்ற செரிக்கல் [க]ரையும் வயலுங் காட்[3] னுள்ளொடுக்க இதினுபடும தெல்லாங் கூட அட்டிக்கொடுத்-தான் கிழுமலையுடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெல்-வாதிலாகின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்-

3 தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாருங் கிழுமலை அறு[4] நூற்றுவரையு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரையும் பணியுடைய[ர்]களையு முள்வைச்சு கொடிக்களமு-டைய இயககங் கோவிந்தனுக்கு காராண்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் ஊ-ரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும் [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் ஊ[ரு]ம்

4 [கிழுமலை] அறுநூற்றுவரு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரு பணியுடை-ய[ர்]களு[ம்*] பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] இதினுக்கு வருங் குறைவு குற்ற முண்டாகில் விட்டிச்செலுத்திக்கக் கடவியர் [||*] இவ்விளக்கு கிழு-ருவி நடையொடு [கூ]-

5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்தில்பட்ட தண்டமெய் படக்கவியர் [||*] கொடிக்களத்து இயக்கங் கோவிந்த-[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டாட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியன் [||*] வி-ளக்கினு கும்ப ஞா-

6 யிற்று உரோயணி நாள் பொதுவாள்மார் கையில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி லிடங்-கழியால்ப் பன்னிரு கலங் கொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுக்கில் ஆடு-முறையும் வருவிது[5] அறு கழைஞ்சு நிறைப் பொன் கொடுப்பிது [||] இயக்கன் கோவிந்தன்

7 உடையாரடியான் கண்டனிர[வி][6]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Ṛishabha, Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ of Kīḻumalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. For this perpetual lamp, Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 ய is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முன்னொடுக்க.

4 The syllables நூற்று are entered below the line, a mark being made after அறு.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வழுவாது; although வருவிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in *l*. 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (*T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The records stops here.

of Kīḻumalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādil-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ūrār* and *poduvāḷmār*[1] of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, the 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādil as a *kārāṇmai* to Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkaḷam.

The *ūrār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, 'the three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, the servants and the *poduvāḷmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkaḷam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāḷ*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaḻañju* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ, Uḍaiyāraḍiyāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ-Ravi . . .

No. 6C—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.[2]

Nāṭya-śāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharataśāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Naṭasūtras of Silālin and Kriśāsva,[3] which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tamilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgēṟṟukādai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukādai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Pugār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*[4], reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār (*c.* 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tamil works, such as *Agattiyam*, *Śeyiṟṟiyam*, *Jayantam*, *Guṇanūl*, *Nāṭaka-tamiḻ-nūl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

1 The phrase 'ஊரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும்' is repeated in the text.

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

3 *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XII, page 157.

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāḷ* and the *kuḷal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds[1] of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of aesthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdakkūttu*[2] which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kiḷinaṭam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Viduḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veṟiyāṭṭu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza:—

'கடையமயி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
குடைதுடி மா லல்லியமல் கும்பஞ் சுடர்விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையரன் பாண்டரங்கம்
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து'.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

'அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்க
மல்லுட னின்றாட லாறு'
and 'துடிகடையம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
வடிவுடன் வீழ்ந்தாட லைந்து'.[3]

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

'படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையுளெய்தக்
குடை வீழ்த் தவர்மு னாடிய குடையும்,
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
நீணில மளந்தோ னாடிய குடமும்' (ll. 52–45).

In his commentary on these lines, Aḍiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmaṇya[4] afte rhaving slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tuḍi*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Sokkam*, *Meykkuttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakam*.

2 எழுவகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை, பாட லருத்தனைக் கீழியன் முறையே —page 81.

3 *Silappadigāram*, page 89.

4 மாக்கடல் நடுவே-
னீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்று
சூர்த்திறங் கடந்தோ னாடிய துடியும்— ll. 49 to 51 of *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*.
Compare also சேடனுக்கசண்டாளராக்கர்குல
மாளவிட்டுகுன் டேழ்கடல்கள்
சேதமற்றனின் முடிவிற்கரமீ ரறுதோண் மேற் —*Tiruppugal*.

and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmaṇya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two[1] varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit Nāṭya-śāstras. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilian South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;[2] and we find him given an equal status with Vishṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary[3] deity of the *kuṛiñjinila-mākkaḷ* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tuḍi* (drum)[4] was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veṛiyāṭṭu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai* the first poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Murugaṉ and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvēḷ (Subrahmaṇya). These Kuḍaikkūttus are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṉ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Vishṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd[5]. In the Śaṅgam works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances[6] of the Vaishṇava-āḻvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛishṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse[7] of Periyāḻvār's *Tirumoḻi*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

1 குடையொடு துடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாடலாமே
அறுமுகத்தோ னாடல் குடை and துடியாடல் வேன்முருகனாடல் —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.

3 சேயோன் மேயமைவரை யுலகமும் —*Tolkāppiyam* (*Aha. s.* 5)

4 தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறிஞ்சிப்பறைபேர் —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.

5 மாயோன் மேயகாடுறை யுலகமும் —*Tōlkāppiyam*.
குன்றெடுத்து ஆநிரை காத்த பிரான், கோவலனாய்க் குழலூதி,
கன்றுகள் மேய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்துடன் வருவானை —*Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*.
இடவலகுடவலகோவல காவல —*Paripāḍal* 3-ம் பத்., *l.* 43.
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோனாடல் —*Silap.*, page 89.

6 குடம் கலந்தாடிக் குரவைமுன்கோத்த கூத்த எ-ந் திருமொழி.
குடமாடு கூத்தன் கோவிந்தன் —நாச்சியார் திருமொழி.
குடமாடிக் கோவலனாய் மேவி என்னெஞ்சம்
இடமாகக் கொண்டஇறை —இயற்பா, 2-ம் திருவி, பா. 98.
குடமாடி இம்மண்ணும் விண்ணும் குலுங்க உலகளந்து
நடமாடிய பெருமான் —இயற்பா, திருவி, பா 38.
குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பாதத் துவத்தான் —திருவெங்கடமாலை, 48.

7 குடங்களெடுத் தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எங்கோவே —உ-ம்பத்து, எ-ம் திருமொழி.

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exhuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air; catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammāṉai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the [1]*Kuravaik-kūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīḍā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindāvana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam.* The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kāḷi, in the *Uṟiyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Krishṇa and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, *viz*, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōnagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa[2], despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, Gaṇēśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signallised his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties[3] attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kaṁsa and Kaṁsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds[4] were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kāḷiya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.[5]

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabhāratam* a work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1 தொடுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப — *Chūḍāmaṇi.*
This dance has been described in the Āychchiyār-Kuravai in *Śilappadigāram*.

2 Compare the following description
மோடியோடவக்கிவெப்பு மங்கியோடவைங்கரன்
முடுகியோட முருகனோட முக்கணீசன் மக்களோத்
தேடியோடவாணனாயிரம் புயங்கள் குறசிசீர்
சிந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே
—திருவரங்கக்கலம்பகம், 39.

3 குடமல் லேயல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன்றன் கூத்து — *Chūḍāmaṇi.*

TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUKKADITTANAM.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāḷi*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam (Chenganachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (*c.* A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhisthāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, (the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mridaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *haṁsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel[6] representation of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishṇa and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kērala, the unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2 + . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *upāna* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhutanārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam, which contains many

4 Compare the title of வெண்ணெய்க்கூத்தன்.

5 பையரவின் கூட்டிற் சிரம்பத நாட்டினான் சேர்வு —*Tiruvēṅkaṭamālai.*
கானகமாமடுவிற் காளியனுச்சியிலே தாயநடம்பயிலும் சுந்தர—.

6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkūttu*, while Nammāḻvār has described the god of this place as:
வைகுந்தம், கோயில்கொண்ட குடக்கூத்த அம்மானே verse 5.

other records of the same Chēra sovereign. The stones comprising the basement having become slightly disturbed on account of age, the top portion of the first line of this epigraph is hidden away by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kumuda*-moulding, so that the writing could de deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had suspected and realised the importance of this record more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my reading and could not substantiate it by an indisputable facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of epigraphical evidence is entitled to much greater consideration than all the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palæographical and linguistic data, that had hitherto been advanced in attempts at determining this Chēra king's date.

This record is dated in the . . year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions, that while Gōvarddhana (this portion is mutilated)-Mārttāṇḍavarman was governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdaivarman, the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*), made some provision for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷā-festival beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete; but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the record furnishes is that Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdai was a feudatory of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman along with Gōvarddhana.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇāḍu ruler from his Māmbaḷḷi copper-plate[1] and his two Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr[2] stone inscriptions. Of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the other astronomical details give the English equivalent—A. D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇāḍu ruler reigned, and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only say that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkaḍittāṇam records, should have been reigning in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.; and as Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai M. A., L. L. B., I. S. O., has independently arrived at A. D. 978[3] for the king's accession from calculating the details furnished in the unpublished Tirunelli plate, this may be accepted as the correct date of this Chēra king. From another record which has been edited *ante*[4], we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of this Chēra sovereign, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was ruling over Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, was put in charge of Vēṇāḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdai may have governed Vēṇāḍu from about Kollam 149 (A. D. 973) or somewhat earlier, till about the 14th year of Bhāskara-Ravi—*i. e.*, A. D. 992, and that after his death, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vēṇāḍu administration. As this latter ruler has figured in the Cochin plate[5] of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in his 2nd + 36th year,

1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-11.
2 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 22-5.
3 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 31-2.
4 See page 178 *ante*.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 66-9.

No. 61—TIRUKKADITTANAM: RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: 2ND+ . 5 YEAR.

A. S Ramanatha Ayyar. Scale: One-sevenths.

the period of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa's reign as a Vēṇāḍu viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016.

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chēra chronology cannot be overestimated; and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai and Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.[1] As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the positions of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கோச்சிரி பாற்க்கரிரவிவர்ம்மர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யா-
ண்டிரண்டின்[3] . . . . மார்த்தாண்டவர் நன்றுழைநாடு
வாழத் திருக்கடித்தானத்து உத்திரமண்டத்தாரும் நிழலும் பணியுங்
கூடி. வெணாடுடைய சிரிவல்லவங்கோதைவர்ம்மர் அமைச்ச உத்திரவி-
ழா ஆட்டாண்டுங் கும்பஞாயிற்று கார்த்திகை கொடி நாட்டி நிய-
தி முந்நாழி நாழியால நூற்றுநாழி அரிகொண்டு அட்டி பூணும் கறி-
யும் நெய்யு மொண்டாயிப் ப்ராமணரை ஊட்டிப் பத்து கூத்துமாடிச்சு
பணிமானிடத்தின்கு பண்டு கொடுக்கும் அரிசியும் கொடுத்து நாலாயி-
ரநா[ழியில்] வெற்றிலை கொண்டு நியதிக்கு யிட்டு பூதபலியுந் தூகி
உத்திரத்தின்[4]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the . . opposite the second year of king Śrī Bhāskara-Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvarddhana]-Mārttāṇḍavarmar was administering Naṉṟulai-nāḍu, the *uttaragaṇattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival) of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, the Government officers (*nīḻal*) and servants (*paṇi*) having assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the Uttiraviḻā (Paṅguṉi-Uttiram festival) which Śrīvallabhaṉ-Kōdaivarmar the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha, brahmans shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the measure holding three *nāḻi*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *kūttu* (dramatic) performances shall be played, and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice; and out of this four thousand *nāḻi* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the *bali* offerings shall also be strewn; and on the day of Uttiram . . . .

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 220-3.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. E.

3 The missing syllables must be கோதை . . . மார்த்தாண்டவர்த்தன

4 The writing stops here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the prākāra.

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tulā, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḷāra at Tirukkaḍittāṉam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmans in the temple and for 12 *nāḻi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series,* Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கொப்பாற்கர இரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்-
ற [2]மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நால்பத்தெட்டும்சென்ற துலாத்தில்
வியாழந் நின்ற [சித்தி]ரை விழுவி நாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழா-
ரர்க்கு முளக்காட்டு இயக்கங் கொவிநங் அமைச்ச செல்வாவிது [।*]
ஒரு [ந]ந்தாவிள்க்கும் பந்திருவர் . . . . . . அமராவாதிநாள்பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தும் இச்செலவின் . . . .
யில் . [விழா]காப்பவாளிடை நாலாயிரத்தெண்ணூறு பறை நெல்வி-
லை [தா]ன் [அ]ட்[டின] நா[னூற்று]க்கலம் நிலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழாரர்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கங் கொவிந்நன் இச்செலவு . . .
. . . . . முனூற்று . . . . செலுத்த[3]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḷārar of Tirukkaḍittāṉam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tulā, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men . . . . . and for twelve *nāḻi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ gave with libation (of water) to . . . . . . for four thousand and eight hundred *paṟai* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense . . . . . hundred . . . . . shall provide.

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1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. E.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.

Nayaka records in Travancore territory.

The decline of the power of the Pāṇḍya dynasty in the Madura District may have to be traced from the time of the Muhammadan adventurer Malik Kafir, who overran South India in a magnificent raid in about A. D. 1311-2; and a Sultanate, which was founded in Madura soon after in about A. D. 1335, held that ancient capital in its possession for nearly 42 years till A. D. 1377, when the Vijayanagara prince Kumāra-Kampaṇa once for all effectively ended Muhammadan domination in the southern most India. The Pāṇḍyas migrating farther south contented themselves with the administration of the adjoining Tinnevelly District; and their possessions included also some portions situated in the eastern and southern borders of modern Travancore; but these effete Pāṇḍyas were soon dominated by the Vijayanagara kings and the whole of the southern districts were constituted into a viceroyalty of that empire, with headquarters at Madura.

The Nāyaka rulers of Madura were the generals who were posted by the Vijayanagara kings for the administration of this distant governorship, and they continued fairly loyal to the imperial house during the two centuries of their own rule; and though the Vijayanagara dynasty tottered to its fall in the second half of the 17th century with the death of Śrīraṅga III, they continued to call themselves still its loyal feudatories. The Nāyaka dynasty ruled over the Madura territory for over two hundred years from about A. D. 1530 to A. D. 1738. The subjoined list[2] of the Nāyaka rulers and the periods of their reigns will be useful for reference.

	Nāyaka rulers of Madura.	*Dates.*
	Nāgama-Nāyaka (Kāśyapa-gōtra)	...
1.	Viśvanātha-Nāyaka	1529-64.
2.	Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka	1564-72.
3.	Vīrappa-Nāyaka	1572-95.
4.	Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka II	1595-1601.
	Kastūri-Raṅga	(a week)
5.	Muttu-Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka	1601-09.
6.	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka I	1609-1623.
7.	Tirumalai-Nāyaka	1623-59.
8.	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka II	1659 (4 months).
9.	Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1659-78.
10.	Muttu-Liṅga-Nāyaka	1678.
	[Rustum-Khan][3]	(Two years).
11.	Chokkanātha Nāyaka	1678-82.
12.	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka III	1682-89.
13.	Maṅgammāḷ	1689-1706.
14.	Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1706-32.
15.	Mīnākshī[4]	1732-38.

1 Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has suggested from numismatic evidence that there was a break of 12 years from A. D. 1345-57 and that Kampaṇa's initial success against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura may be attributed to this period. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 182.

2 Based on the *History of Madura Nayaks*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924).

3 A short usurpation of power for two years.

4 A copper-plate of this Queen is dated in Feb. 1739.

Four Records of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka

The four records which are published below, belong to the time of king Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka I. of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, No. 6 in the above list. They are found engraved in a slovenly manner on the wall of the temple of Tirumūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṉūr *alias* Sāmbūrvaḍagarai in the Shencottah taluk. Three of them are dated in Śaka 1526 and 1527 and Kollam 782 corresponding to A. D. 1604, 1605 and 1607 respectively, and mention Śrīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka. As this Nāyaka ruler is known to have reigned from A. D. 1609 to 1623,[1] these records appear to have been incised before he actually ascended the Madura throne in his own right. During the period from A. D. 1604 to 1607, his father Muttu-Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka (1601-09)[1] was the ruling king; and it appears likely that Muttu-Vīrappa, while yet the crown-prince, had under his control as governor, the tract of land bordering on the Tinnevelly District and the present Travancore State.

The first of these inscriptions which is dated in Śaka 1526 (=A. D. 1604) mentions that some lands were gifted away as *sarvamānya* to the temple treasury-accountants in cancellation of an older arrangement, which had apparently involved some disability. Owing to some illegible gaps in the first record, its full purport is not possible to be made out.

The second inscription, also of the same date, appears to register the gift of some land made at the instance of a private individual named Nārāyaṇa-Mudali, for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Mūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṉūr. The donor had evidently obtained this land from Śrīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka, who further appears to have exempted the tenants of this land from the payment of certain taxes.

The third epigraph of the same Nāyaka ruler, Muttu-Vīrappa, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in the Bhairava naḍai in the temple at Cape Comorin. It registers that he made a gift of some lands in Kākkaraikkuḷam in Pullālaṅguṟichchi-paṟṟu which could yield annualy $56\frac{1}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy and 30 *paṇam* required for providing one *kuṟuṇi* of sacred offerings to goddess Kanyā-Bhagavatī at the time of the morning worship. The accountant who looked after the conduct of this service in the temple was authorised to receive this cooked food for himself. This record is dated in Kollam 782, and the other astronomical details furnished therein are correct for Friday, the 1st of May, 1607 A. D. It is worthy of note that this Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka has been mentioned in this inscription as having had the other name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka also (*ll.* 64 to 69). This gift of land made in A. D. 1607 was also in his capacity of Tinnevelly Governor and not as a Nāyaka ruler of Madura, as stated above. Pullālaṅkuṟichchi is a village in the Tinnevelly District.

No. 63—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1526.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [|*] சகாத்தம் க௲ரு௱உ௰சு ன் மெல் செல்-

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1 See list on previous page.
2 Registered as No. 35 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 லாநின்ற சொபகிறு[1] (௵) சித்திரை மாதம் ௰௭உ ஸ்ரீமது
3 முத்துவீரப்ப நாயக்கர் வடகரை விந்தனூர் திருமூல-
4 த்தானமுடை[யார்] கொவில் பெண்டாரக் காரியஞ் செய்வார்களு-
க்கு மெ-
5 ல்லா நன்மையும் பெருக அறியவர கணக்கு காரியம் [।*] திரு[மூலநா-
தர்] கெ-
6 ாவிலி[ல்*] முன்னாள் நடந்து [பொனபடி] வெண்டாமென்று [அ]த்தம்
7 துடைத்துக் களித்து கட்டளை இட்டு மணியம் கணக்கும் வெண்ட-
8 ாம் மென்று லவஹராதஜி . . . . . . இட்டொம் [।*] இந்தபடி-
9 யெ இன்னாள் முதல் ஸூஸ்ராக்கஷம் . . ம்பி . . . .
10 . . . [ளுக்கு]ச் சவ-மாநியம் ஆக நடத்திகொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [॥*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 17th day of the month of Chittirai in the (cyclic) year Ṣōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1526, Srīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka set aside the old usage in the temple of Tirumūlaṭṭāṇam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṇūr on the northern bank (Vaḍagarai), abolished the posts of *maṇiyam* and *kaṇakku*, and ordered that certain gifts were to be considered as *sarvamānya*.

No. 64—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1526.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்ரீஸலிவாஹந [।*] ஸகாத்தம் ஆயிர[௫௱௨௰௬] மெல் செல்-
2 லா நின்ற சொபகிறு[3] (௵) ஆனி மாதம் ௫உ திரு-
3 வாய் மொளிந்து அருளினபடிக்கு சிலாமுறி[4] [।*]
4 வடகரை விந்தனூர் திருமூலத்தானமுடையார்
5 கொவில் பெண்டாரகாரியம் செய்வார்களுக்கு [வர]க் காட்டு-
6 ன காரியம் [।*] சுவாமியார் கொவில் முன்னாள் நடந்து பெ[ான] படி
வே-
7 ண்டாம் மென்று களித்துக் கட்டளை இட்டொம் [।*] மெற்படியெ இ-
ன்னாள் மு-
8 தலுக்கு ஆசந்திராக்கம் சவ-மாநியம் ஆக செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும் வெ-
ட்டி ந-
9 டத்திக கொளளுவார்களாகவும [॥*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 5th day of the month of Āṇi in the year Śōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1526, an order was issued to the accountants of the treasury of Tirumūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār temple at Vindaṇūr that certain lands were to be treated as *sarvamānya* in supersession of some old arrangements[5].

1 Read சொபகிருது.

2 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

3 Read சொபகிருது.

4 முறி is a document, and a சிலாமுறி is a கல்வெட்டுப்பிரமாணம்.

5 This record seems to be supplementary to No. 63 above.

No. 64—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1527.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [।*] [ச]காத்தம் ௲௫௱௨௰௭ மேல் செல்லாநின்ற . . . ௰௯ [ஆனி]-

2 மாதம் ௰௯௳ ஸ்ரீமது முத்துவீரப்பநாயக்கரய்ய . . . சித்துக் குடுத்த

3 . . . சாமி நாராயணமுதலியா . ரோம் [।*] வடகரை விந்தனூர் திருமூல-த்தானமு-

4 டையார் அபிஷேக கட்டளைக்கு நல்லபெருமாள்பிள்ளை அய்யன்அறை- . க்கு . .

5 த்துக் குடுத்த சித்தாத்தம்கரை . . பூா கறவைகாணத்தில் [அக்காசில்] இக்காநம்பி[ள்ளை]

6 பெருமாள் நம்பி உள்பட்ட குடிஆழ் இவர்கள் பெரில் உண்டான கால-ப்பிரிவு-

7 க்கு உண்டான இறையும் சில்வரி பெருவரி எற்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் இன்னு-

8 ள் முதலுக்கு சுவாமி அபிஷெகத்துக்கு விட்டபடியினாலெ ஆசந்-

9 திராக்கம் தந்தி பெறவெசமெ செம்பிலும் சிலஇலும் வெட்டி

10 நடத்திக் கொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [॥*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 19th day of the month of [Āṇi] in the Śaka year 1527, the land called Nallaperumāḷ Ayyaṇaṛai was granted by Śrīmat Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyakar-ayyaṇ for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Tirumūla-sthānam-Uḍaiyār at Vindaṇūr on the northern bank (Vaḍagarai). Certain taxes, namely, *iṛai*, *silvari*, *peṛuvari*, etc., were deducted and the charity had to be conducted as long as the moon and the stars endure.

No. 65—On the north wall of the Siva temple.

This record engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Śiva temple in the same village registers the gift of lands by a private individual named Kōḍaichchaṇ of Vindaṇūr for the *pradōsha* evening service to be conducted in the temple of Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchaṇ-Uttamagaṅgaṇ, and for special worship to god Subrahmaṇya on Kārttigai days every month for the merit of Ammai-aḍiyāṇ.

The date when these gifts were made is not given, but from the Tamil characters of the record, it may be assigned to about the same period as the above two inscriptions.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [।*] சுவாமி திருமூலனாதர் பிறதொ-

2 ஷகட்டளைக்கு வடகரை விந்தனூர்

3 கோழைத்தெரு கொாதைச்ச [3]௫ பிச்ச.

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1 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

3 This symbol is not understood. It may be கணக்கு.

4 ன் உத்தமகங்கன் புண்ணியமாக
5 கொண்டுவிட்ட இவ்வூர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கீழ் ப-
6 த்துக்க[ா]ல் சங் கண்ணாறு தடி கஉ வ ௬ங் கண்ணாறு
7 தடி கஉ வ அக தடி உட சப இன்னிலம் அரைமாவு-
8 ம் ஆசந்திர[ா]ற்க்கம் பிறதொஷகட்டளையா-
9 க குடிநீங்கா தெய்[வ*]தானமாக அனுபவித்துகெ-
10 காண்டு பிறதொஷ[ம்*] ஒன்றுக்கு அபிஷெ-
11 க கட்டளை நெய்வெத்தியத்துக்கு பணம்
12 ஒன்றாக ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கு இருபத்தஞ்சு பண-
13 ம் குடுத்துப் பொதுவாராகவும் [।*]
14 ஷெ அம்மையடியான் புண்ணியமாக
15 குமாரருக்கு மாதந்தொறும் காத்திகைத்தி-
16 ருநாளுக்கு நடக்கும்படிக்கு கொ-
17 ண்டுவிட்ட மெட்டுமடைருங் கண்ணா-
18 று தடி கஉ வட ந இன்னிலம் காணி
19 முந்திரிகையும் [॥*]

Abstract of Contents.

Kōdaichcha . . . . . , a resident of the east street of Vindaṉūr gave ½ *ma* of land comprised in two bits of land under the Periyakuḷam of the same village for conducting the *pradōsha* evening worship of god Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchaṉ-Uttamagaṅgaṉ. This land was let out on *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* tenure (tenantship in perpetuity) and 25 *paṇam* had to be paid to the temple every year at the rate of one *paṇam* per *pradōsham* for the expenses of offerings and the sacred bath.

For the merit of Ammai-aḍiyāṉ, a gift of *kāṇi* ($\frac{1}{80}$) + *mundirikai* ($\frac{1}{320}$) was also made for conducting the special worship of god Kumāra (Subrahmaṇya) on the day of the Kārttigai asterism every month.

No. 66—Cape Comorin record of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka; Kollam 782.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 சகாத்தம் க௲ரு௱உ௰௯கூ
2 மெல் செல்லாநின்ற கொ-
3 ல்லம் எ௱அ௰உ ஷூ[2] வை-
4 காசிமாதம் ௰உ பூறுவ பக்க-
5 த்துப் பூர்ணையும் பெற்ற வி-
6 சாகத்திஞள்ச் செய்த ச-
7 த்திமுகமாவது [।*] முறத்-
8 தாஞட்டுக் குமரியில் காச்-
9 சியபர் குமரிப்பகவதி நா-
10 ச்சியார் கொயில் சிபண்ட-

1. Registered as No. 41 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1085 M. E.
2 The details of date correspond to A. D. 1607, May 1. Friday, ·77; ·81.

11 ாரக்காரியஞ் செய்வார்-
12 களொம் மெற்படி நாட்-
13 டு மெற்படியூரில் மெற்படி
14 கோயில் தன்மகத்தர்
15 கணக்கு என்னுடைய
16 நயினுன் திருநெல்வெலி-
17 ப்பெருமாளுக்கு [।*] தினப்ப-
18 டியாகச் சிலவு நடக்கு-
19 ம்படிக்கு நாச்சியார்க்-
20 கு நித்தப்படி நடந்துபொ-
21 தும் காலசந்தி பூசையில் ந-
22 ளது முதல் நாளொன்று-
23 க்கு கற்பித்த சொறு குருணி இ-
24 ந்த சொறு குருணிக்கும
25 நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு அமுதுபடி
26 குருணியாக மாதம் ஒன்று-
27 க்கு அமுதுபடி இருகலனெ
28 தூணி பதக்கு இதுக்கு இர-
29 ண்டஞ்சுக்கு மாதம் ஒன்று-
30 க்கு இருவதும்படி ஊ கெ௲ ஙூ
31 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதி-
32 க நாள் அஞ்சுக்கும் ஊ
33 கெ௲ சயறு௵வு। இதுவும் ஆறி-
34 ல் ஒன்று கூற்றரிசிக்கு ஆ-
35 ண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதிக
36 நாளஞ்சுக்கும் நெல் கொ-
37 ட்டை ஒன்பதெ அரைக்கா-
38 ல் நித்தற்படிக்கு நெல்
39 கொட்டை ஒன்றரை இதுவும்

Second side.

40 ஆக கொ்ட்-
41 டை அன்பத்-
42 தாறெ காலு-
43 க்கு சத்தக்கூ-
44 லிக்கு நடை மு-
45 ப்பதுக்கு ப-
46 ணம் முப்பது
47 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒ-
48 ன்றுக்கு நெல்
49 கொட்டை அ-
50 ன்பத்தாறெ-
51 காலுக்கும் ப-
52 ணம் முப்பதுக்-
53 கும் மெற்படி
54 நாட்டு புல்ல-
55 ரலங்குறிச்சி
56 பற்றில் காக்க-
57 ரைக்குளமும்
58 புரவும் கிணறு-
59 ம் கரைக்கா-
60 டும் கூடச் சி-
61 லவு நிலமாக
62 விட்டுத் தந்து
63 இவ்வகைப்ப-
64 டியெ ஸ்ரீஉது
65 விசுவநாத ந-
66 ாயக்காரன
67 முத்துவீரப்ப-
68 நாயககர் அ-
69 ய்யன் அவர்க-
70 ன் கற்பித்து ந-
71 ரச்சியாரக்-

72 கு நித்தற்ப-
73 டி நடந்து ெ-
74 பாதும் கால-
75 சந்தி பூசை
76 சொறு குரு-
77 ணியும் நா-
78 ளது முதல்

Third side.

79 தன்மகத்தர் கண-
80 க்கு என்றுடைய ந-
81 யினான் திருநெல்வெலி-
82 ப்பெருமாள் ஆசந்திர-
83 தாரவற் சந்ததிப்பிர-
84 வெசமெ பற்றிக் கைய-
85 ாண்டு பொதும்படி கற்-
86 பித்து நாச்சியார் சன்-
87 னதியிலிருந்து சத்திமு-
88 கமும் எழுதிக்குடுத்துக்
89 கல்லிலும் வெட்டிக்குடுத்-
90 தொம் சிபண்டாரக்காரி-
91 யஞ் செய்வார்களொம [॥*] இ-
92 ப்படிக்கு சிகாரியம்
93 முதலிநாயக்கர் எழுத்து
94 அத்தாந்திரக்கணக்கு
95 கண்ணாயிரம் எழுத்து க-
96 டைக்கூட்டு கணக்கு
97 செவ்வந்திநாத [பி]ள்ளை
98 கணக்கு குமாரசுவாமி
99 எழுத்து செவ்வந்தி செ-
100 ட்டியார் கணக்கு பற்பனா-
101 பன் எழுத்து வாலப்ப நா-
102 யக்கற் கணக்கு மாதிக்கு-
103 ட்டி எழுத்து நாகுச்செட்டி
104 னாயக்கர் கணக்கு சடெ-
105 காபன் எழுத்து தெவநா-
106 ததிக்கிஷர் கணக்கு கண்-
107 டை எழுத்து முதல் பற்று ெ-
108 மற்படி கணக்கு சிவிந்திர-
109 குட்டி காளிகுட்டி எழுத்து
110 மெற்படி அனந்தன் இரவி
111 எழுத்து தன்மகத்தர் கண-
112 க்கு நயினான் பெருமாள்
113 எழுத்து சிபண்டாரகணக்-
114 கு நயினான் மாத்தாண்-
115 டன் எழுத்து ॥

Translation.

In the Kollam year 782 which was current when Śaka 1529 had expired, on the 3rd day of the month of Vaikāśi—a day of the Viśākha-asterism and

paurṇimā-*tithi*, the following permanent deed (*śattimukam*) was issued by the officials of the treasury of the temple of goddess Kumari-Bhagavati at Kumari in Muṟattā-nāḍu, to Eṇṇuḍaiya-nayinān Tirunelvēlipperumāḷ, the accountant of the Dharmakarttar.

The scale of expenditure for the conduct of the daily morning service (*kālai-śandi*) of the goddess Nāchchiyār, is

one *kuṟuṇi* of rice per day for cooked food of one *kuṟuṇi* daily, *i. e.*, two *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, and one *padakku* per month;

or in the proportion of five for two, the paddy according to the 20-measure is 3¾ *kōṭṭai* per month;

i. e, for one year and for the five extra days (of a year), the paddy required is 45 + ½ + ⅛ *kōṭṭai*;

for the *kūṟṟariśi* or rice for apportionment (*kūṟu*), the paddy (required) is 9 + ⅛ *kōṭṭai* for one year and the extra five days:

1½ *kōṭṭai* (per year) for the daily requirements of paddy:

in all, 56¼ *kōṭṭai* of paddy:

the wages for carrying this paddy are 30 *paṇam* for 30 *naḍai* (times of carrying)—

i. e., for one year, 56¼ *kōṭṭai* of paddy and 30 *paṇam*.

For the above expenses, the village of Kākkaraikkuḷam in the *paṟṟu* (subdivision) of Pullālaṅkuṟichchi, inclusive of *puṟavu* (garden land), wells, and arable lands was given.

From the morning service worship, which Śrīmat Viśvanātha-Nāyakkar *alias* Muttuvīrappa-Nāyakkarayyan had instituted to be conducted daily to the goddess in this manner, Nayiṉār-Tirunelvēlipperumaḷ, the accountant of the Dharmakartar, shall from this day receive the *kuṟuṇi* of cooked food daily, as long as the moon and star endure and in lineal succession.

Thus did we, the officials of the temple-treasury give a permanent order (*śattimukam*) from the sacred presence of the goddess and had it engraved on stone.

Then follow a number of signatures of accountants:—Mudali-Nāyakkar, the *artāntara-kaṇakku* Kaṇṇāyiram, Kumārasvāmi, the accountant of Śevvandinātha-Piḷḷai, Paṟpanāpan of Śevvandi-Śeṭṭiyār, Mādikkuṭṭi of Vālappa-Nāyakkar, Śaṭagōpan of Nāguśeṭṭi-Nāyakkar, Kaṇḍai of Dēvanātha-Dīkshitar, Sivīndirakuṭṭi-Kāḷikuṭṭi and Anantan-Ravi of the first *paṟṟu*, Nayiṉāṉ-Perumāḷ of the Dharmakarttā, and Nayiṉāṉ-Mārttāṇḍan, the treasury-accountant.

No. 67—Cape Comorin record of Chokkanatha-Nayaka: Kollam 839.

The subjoined inscription belonging to the reign of the Nāyaka king, Chokkanātha-Nāyaka, is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar in a *maṇḍapa*

near the Chakra-tīrtham at Cape Comorin. It is dated in Kollam 839 and corresponds to A. D. 1664, June 19. It registers the construction of a *maṭha* on the bank of the Chakra-tīrtha to the north of the temple at Kanyākumari by Tirumalaikkoḻundu-Piḷḷai for the merit of Chokkanātha-Nāyaka and Vaḍamalaiyappa-Piḷḷai. The former was the Madura Nāyaka ruler, the son of Muttu-Vīrappa II and the grandson of the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka who reigned from A. D. 1659-82. Maṅgammāḷ who became famous in Madura history and who conducted the administration from 1689 to 1706 as the Queen-Regent during the minority of her grandson Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha, was his queen.

The lands that were endowed for the conduct of this charity were situated in Paṇakkuḍi, which is a village in the Nanganeri taluk of the Tinnevelly District.

Text.[1]

First face.

1 [ஸ்ரீ] குரோதிவரு சகாத்த-
2 ம் ௲௫௱௮[௬]க்கு மே-
3 ல் செல்லாநின்ற
4 கொல்லம் ௮௱௩௰௯ல்
5 ஆனிமீ ௨௰௯ பூறுவ ட-
6 க்ஷிசத்து சத்தமியும்
7 ஆதித்த(த)வாரமும
8 சித்தயொகமும் கெ-
9 சகாரணமும் உத்திர-
10 த்திரனாள் செய்த தன்-
11 ம சிலைத்தம்பமாவது [।*]
12 சொக்கநாதநாயக்க-
13 ர் அய்யனுக்கு புண்-
14 ணியமாகவும் [2]வட-
15 மலையப்பபிள்ளை
16 அவர்களுக்கு புண்-
17 ணியமாகவும்
18 திருமலைக்கொழுந்து
19 பிள்ளை அம்மன் குமரி
20 ப்பகவதி அம்மனை -
21 ன் னிதிக்கு உத்தர-
22 திக்கில் சக்கரதீர்த்த-
23 க்கரை படதிருப்
24 புறம் திருஞான-
25 சம்மந்த பண்டா-
26 ரத்துக்கு தன்ம-

Second face.

27 தானப் பிறமா-
28 ணமாக குடுத்த-
29 படியினலெ ம-
30 டத்து நடக்கும்-
31 படிக்கு விட்டுகுடு-
32 த்த நிலமாவது [।*] ப-
33 ணக்குடியில் [௩]
34 கரைகுளத்தி-
35 ல் புதுதிருத்து வி-
36 ரை கொட்டை
37 மரும் வில்வனை-
38 ஞ்சான் திருத்-
39 தில் விரை கொ-
40 ட்டை ௩ம் ப-
41 ரிசூரியன் கு-
42 ளத்தில் விரை-
43 கோட்டை ௪ம் கா-
44 ளிகண்ணாற்றி-
45 ல் விரை கோட்டை ௩௪-
46 ம் தென்பற்றில்
47 கருங்குளத்தில்
48 தெரெற்றுகுள-
49 மும் கொழுமெ-
50 னரிகுளமும் பு-
51 ஞ்சை விரை கெ-
52 காட்டை ௩௰-
53 ம் வாரியூரில் சென்
54 குளமும் அளத்தி-

1 Registered as No. 50 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 This individual has figured in a few records in the Tinnevelly District (Nos. 296 and 297 of 1916) in the reign of Tirumalai-Nāyaka.

Third face.

55 ல் மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு உப்பு செ-
56 காட்டை வம் நாஞ்சி-
57 ஞட்டு கோணமங்க-
58 லத்து அம்மன் திருவி-
59 ளையாட்டத்து விரமா-
60 த்தாண்டபெரெரி பு-
61 ணர்குளம் முதுதரி-
62 சு திருத்தும் யிது வெ-
63 ல்ல[ா*]ம விட்டு குடுத்-
64 து கல்லிலும் செ-
65 ம்பி(ல்)லும் வெட்டி
66 குடுத்தபடியினா-
67 ல யிந்த தன்ம[ம்*] ஆ-
68 திசந்திரப்பி-
69 ரமாணமாக அ-
70 னுபவித்து கொள்-
71 வராகவும [॥*] யிந்த
72 தன்மத்தை பரி-
73 பாலனம் பண்ணி-
74 னவர்கள் கெங்-
75 கைக்கரையிலெ
76 அச்சுவமெதயா-
77 க[ம்*] பண்ணின பல-
78 மும் கெ(ங்க)ாத்-
79 தானம் பண்ணி-
80 ன பலமும் பெறு-
81 வாராகவும் [॥*]

Translation.

In the Kollam[1] year 839 which was current after Śaka 1586, the (cyclic) year being Krōdhin, on the 20th day of the month of Āṉi, which was a Sunday with saptamī-*tithi* of the first fortnight, Siddha-yōgam, Gaja-karaṇa and Uttiram nakshatra, this stone pillar was prepared (and set up).

The lands which Tirumalaikkoḻundu-piḷḷai gave to Tirujñāṉasambandha-Paṇḍāram for conducting for the merit of Chokkanātha Nāyakarayyaṉ and Vaḍamalaiyappa Piḷḷai, the charities of the *maṭha* on the bank of the Chakra-tīrtha, to the north of the shrine of the goddess Kumari-Bhagavatī, are the following:—

The new reclaimed land (*tiruttu*) under the Karaikkuḷam in Paṇakkuḍi, having a sowing capacity of 15 *kōṭṭai* of (paddy) seed;

land having the sowing capacity of 3 *kōṭṭai* of seed in Vilvaḷaiñjāṉ-tiruttu;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōṭṭai* of seed under the Parisūriyaṅkuḷam;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōṭṭai* of seed under Kāḷi-sluice;

and dry land having the sowing capacity of 30 *kōṭṭai* of seed under the Tēreṟṟukuḷam in Karuṅkuḷam of the southern *paṟṟu*, and the Koḻumaṉērikuḷam;

also ¼ *kōṭṭai* of salt per month from the salt-pans of Śeṅguḷam at Vāriyūr;

and the old waste land under the Vīramārttāṇḍa-pērēri, and Puṉarkuḷam belonging to the temple of the goddess at Kōṇa-maṅgalam in Nāñji-nāḍu.

As all these were given and this fact was engraved on both stone and copper, let them be enjoyed and the charity be conducted, as long as the moon exists.

Those who perpetuate this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed *aśvamēdha* sacrifice and *gō-dāna* gifts on the banks of the Ganges.

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1 The English equivalent is A. D. 1664, June 19, Sunday; f. d. t. ·12; ·82.

No. 68—A few label-inscriptions in the Cape Comorin Temple.

The subjoined label-inscriptions are all engraved in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Kāśi-Viśvanāthar shrine within the Kanyākumari temple at Cape Comorin. From the fact that the lintel of the entrance of this shrine bears the label Pūlān-duṟai-Śivaṉ, it appears possible that this shrine was built by an individual from Pūlānduṟai. Another label states that Nallaśivaṉ, probably the same individual, always keeps in mind the two feet of Pūlānduṟai-nāthar. Two other labels mention Aḻagappa-Mudaliyār and Vaḍamalaiyappa-Piḷḷai, the latter of whom has figured in some records of the Madura Nāyaka rulers. The alphabet of these labels can be only about three centuries old. The rough outline sketches of the persons, engraved in stone as prostrating before the god, were intended to denote the particular devotees, who had contributed for the erection of this shrine.

Texts of the Labels.[1]

1 பூலாந்துறைச் சிவன்
2 தெவங் கன்னிப் பாகன்
3 பூலாந்துறைநாதர் இருபாத மறவாத நல்லசிவன்
4 அழகப்பமுதலியார்[2]
5 வடமலையப்பபிள்ளை அய்யன்[3]
6 திருப்பணி சிதப்பரம்.

The Nayaka Invasions of South Travancore.

Elsewhere[4] it has been pointed out that the Āruvāymoḻi Pass has, on account of its strategic position on the trunk line of easy communication between the eastern and western halves of the southernmost apex of the Indian Peninsula, played quite an important part in the vicissitudes of Travancore history. It was the open door through which her invaders often swooped down on the prosperous taluks of Nāñji-nāḍu, bent on conquest or plunder, whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself.

In the 16th century, Travancore had experienced two visitations from the distant Vijayanagara kings in A. D. 1532 and 1545; and the second[5] of these had been led by the Vijayanagara viceroy Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva-Mahārāya who advanced as far as Suchindram on this occasion and built the fine *gōpura* to the

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1 Registered as Nos. 14 to 19 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1090 M. E.
No. 20 of 1090 is a simple arithmetical puzzle in nine compartments, the sum total of the three digits in each line of which, horizontally, vertically and diagonally, is 15.

2 This individual appears to be a private individual and different from Aḷagappa-Piḷḷai who has figured in a Madura record.

3 This Vaḍamalaiyappa-Piḷḷai is identical with the individual figuring in No. 50 of 1086, dated in Kollam 839. The figures also in a few of the inscriptions of the Tinnevelly District Nos. 296 and 297 of 1916 in the reign of the Madura ruler Tirumalai-Nāyaka.

4 Vide *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. V, p. 1 and the paper entitled 'Āruvāymoḻi Pass' in the Journal of Indian History, April 1925.

5 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 296-7.

temple there, as an eloquent memento of his achievements in the South. The succeeding century had to endure two major and a few minor invasions by the Madura Nāyaka rulers, once during the reign of Tirumalai-Nāyaka (A. D. 1623-59) and a second time in the reign of the queen-regent Maṅgammāḷ (A. D. 1689-1706).

"The causes that may have impelled Tirumala-Nāyaka to invade his neighbour's territory are not clearly known, but the raid must have been due to the refusal by the Travancore king[1] to pay the customary tribute which had apparently been fixed to be paid by the Travancore kings to Madura, on behalf of the Vijayanagara Emperor, whose loyal subordinate the Travancore ruler was at this period. This invasion and the damages it had caused to the eminently agricultural population of Nāñjināḍu are referred to in a royal *nīṭṭu*[2] or cadjan order which is dated in the month of Kumbha in Kollam 810. The fact that a remission of taxes had to be granted for the *Kār* and *piśānam* crops helps us indirectly to fix the date of the invasion to have been before Kaṇṇi and Kumbham 810 *i. e.*, in about the end of the year 1634. The Nāyaka's invasion must surely have overwhelmed the Travancore king and reduced him to his original position of vassalage, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to shake off.

"The second invasion of southern Travancore by the Madura army occurred during the regency of Maṅgammāḷ. Ever since the time of the earlier invasion noticed above, Travancore was a subordinate of Madura and had consequently to pay an annual tribute; and whenever there was a delay in its payment the 'Vaḍuga' army swooped down on the southern territory in the vicinity of the Aruvāymoḻi Pass and harassed the people in diverse ways. On one such occasion, the Travancore king Ravivarman (A. D. 1684-1718) who was himself hard-pressed at home by the insubordination of his feudal barons called the Ettuvīṭṭil-Piḷḷamār, entered into an alliance with the Nāyaka army and utilised its help in disposing off some of these mischievous ministers. But when that danger was past, the Travancore king inveighed the Madura army with false promises into the Kalkuḷam Fort and falling on it unawares, hacked it to pieces. Queen Maṅgammāḷ's invasion of A. D. 1697-8 was therefore one undertaken in a spirit of vengeance to wipe out this disgrace; and the Madura army overran Nāñjināḍ and wrought considerable havoc to the people. The Travancore king was finally obliged to come to terms and sue for peace by the payment of all the arrears of tribute and other presents. An extremely mis-spelt record of Queen Maṅgammāḷ is found on a slab set up near a well at Kōṭṭār.[3]"

Prostrated as South Travancore had already been by the earlier invasions, these Nāyaka raids and their counter-reprisals must have not only caused considerable loss of property and life to the poor Travancore subjects, but must have also engendered in them a feeling of deep resentment against their king, who, handicapped at every turn by the machinations of his feudal barons could only look on

1 The Travancore ruler in Kollam 810 may have been Uṇṇi-Kēraḷavarman and Ravivarman whose records hitherto discovered are dated in Kollam 791, and Kollam 798-820 respectively.

2 See also *History of the Madura Nayaks*, (1924), p 120-1. The text has been published on page 208 infra.

3 This para has been extracted from my paper on the Aruvaymoli Pass in the Journal of Indian History, April 1925.

in helpless indignation at the excesses committed by the invaders, and essay at best but a feeble attempt at driving the enemy away, which despite its futility, ended in the levy of fresh conscriptions from the already over-taxed population. Normal agriculture could not be proceeded with owing to the constant raids of the enemy, and with the plunder of paddy and seed-grain that followed in their wake, famine stalked the once prosperous tract of country, significantly named the Nāñjil-nāḍu, 'the land of ploughs' or an agricultural district *in excelcis*.

A graphic account of the devastated state of the country and the calamities which the poor people of Nāñjil-nāḍu from Maṅgalam[1] to Maṇakkuḍi had been groaning under, in consequence of these two invasions and numerous other marauding expeditions, minor in importance, but of sufficient magnitude to swell the long tale of troubles with which the poor population had already been burdened, has been furnished in a lithic inscription found in South Travancore and in a few *ōlai* documents[2] found in the house of Periyavīṭṭu-Mudaliyār of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram whose ancestors were influential personages in these days. The purport of these cadjan *nīṭṭus* has already been ably summarised in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 302, *et. seq*; but the texts of these documents together with revised translations have now been appended, with a view to their importance, not only in giving us a true picture of the state of the country in that troublous century, but also in showing how the mass-assemblies put up a united front.

The *nāṭṭārs* appear to have met in council (called the *nāṭṭukkūṭṭam*) on three occasions at Vaḍaśēri, Īśāntimaṅgalam and at Kaḍukkarai, and to have solemnly resolved to oppose the schemes of the king, which involved only the imposition of further grievous taxes on them, without the protection of life and property for which taxes are levied from the subjects, to safeguard their ancient privileges, whose established currency was being set aside by the high-handed conduct of the king's officers, to make a united stand against the oppressions of the king's mercenary agents, and to leave Travancore and settle elsewhere outside its frontier, in case proper assurances of redress were not forthcoming and their grievances were not set right by early and effective measures. According to the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 323-4—

"The Nāñjināḍ people became desperate . . . The spirit of lawless defiance to the king's authority engendered by the state of affairs in the country reached its climax, when the people met and resolved that any man who acted against the interests of the public therein assembled was to be treated as a common enemy and dealt with accordingly . . . The people also more than once abandoned their houses and took to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the king promised to redress their grievances."

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1 Maṅgalam has been identified with a village of that name near Poṇmaṇa, and Maṇakkuḍi is a village in South Travancore 5 miles from Suchindram.—*T. S. M.*, Vol I, p. 316.

2 These were found copied in a register in the office, and though their correctness could not be verified now, they have been accepted as such. The *State Manual* account appears to have been based on these transcripts only.

The king finally promised them concessions, in case they came and settled down to peaceful agriculture as before.

Most of the revenue terms and other expressions that have been used in these records are given below, and their significance has also been explained, wherever possible, from the *Trav. Rev. Manual* etc.

Aḍakkirāvu—appears to signify a variety of paddy. Can in be *Arakkan-Kuruuai* used for the *Arakkal* crop which is harvested in Kanni?

Ambalakkarar—This is the name of a class of Śūdra servants doing service in temples, such as weaving garlands etc., for the god's worship. In north Travancore they are called *Ambalavasis* and have now crystallized into a distinct sub-caste, on account of their profession. But here *Ambalakkārar* means 'the men in charge of a village'.

Āṇavāḷ—is the Brahman-manager of the temple. *Āṇavāḷ* or *Āṇayāḷ* is literally 'one who mounted on an elephant'; but it is probable that *ṇa* has wrongly been used in place of *ṇa*, and that the word has perhaps to be derived from *āṇai* + *āḷ*, the man who wields authority (*āṇai*: Skt. *ājñā*). *Anavālu* occurs in Telugu inscriptions in the sense of a witness like *āṇatti* in Tamil. (*Mad. Epig. Rept.* for 1922, p. 108).

Āṇḍaikkuṟi—*Kuṟi* is the name for a note (*kuṟippu*) or receipt and *āṇḍaik-kuṟi* is therefore the receipt for the year.

Añjāli—was the name of a kind of cess levied on paddy lands in South Travancore. It is considered to represent 'the tax in grain which was substituted in place of the expenses of providing wicker-work images which it was the duty of the Nāñji-nāḍu people to set up during the festivals in temples.' The derivation of the word is however obscure though it is said to be compounded of *añju* = five and *āli* = images.

Aṇṇāvi—is derived from *Aṇṇāḷvi*, a brother (therefore a term of respect). Gundert gives the meanings 'a tutor' or 'head of a company of actors'. It now represents a class of Brahmans who are connected with the management of the temples.

Chōdd'yam-chōdi—*chōddiyam* originally connoted 'enquiry', but it had also the higher significance of 'a trial sometimes supplemented with torture'. The back-biters among the ryots (*nāṭṭārs*) appear to have been simply put on trial and when their complicity against the general interests of the village assemblies was proved, some punishment appears to have been inflicted on them, such as fines, confiscation of property etc.

Dēśa-taḍai—Distraint of the lands in villages.

Kachchai-yāviṇai—*Kachchai* is cloth and *yāvinai* (*yāvanā*) means a gift. This tax appears to be connected with the supply or gift of cloth; but it has been interpreted to mean 'the shreds of cloth used for torches' (*pandam*)—T. S. M., Vol. I, p. 317

Kaḍaṉ-muṟi—A promissory note for a loan.

Kaikkūli—is a bribe, and this is also its meaning in Tamil. In Malayalam, however, it has the additional connotation of the fine upon a lease and its renewal.

Kāṇam—is a kind of tenure on lands, according to which a loan of money is given as equivalent to mortgage, and a portion of the produce over and above the interest on the loan is also paid to the owner.

Kaṇḍuḷavu—lands held on a particular tenure. It is also called *Kaṇḍu-kṛishi*.

Kāṇiyāṭchi—Hereditary rights of enjoyment of property, land, service, etc, granted to individuals.

Kār—is the crop gathered in Kaṇṇi (Sept.-Oct.).

Kara—An administrative unit called the *pravartti*, a small village.

Kāraṇavaṇmār—Heads of the family and hereditary predecessors and ancestors generally, in the West Coast; they are in the case of the *marumakkattāyis*, the maternal uncles who manage the properties of the family. The descendants and next in succession are called *anantaravar*.

Kōḷum-kumaṇḍaiyam—means back-biting and tale-bearing.

Kōṭṭaip-paṇam or *Kōṭṭaip-paḍivu*—is probably an unusual tax at the rate of some *paṇam* for land having a sowing capacity of a *kōṭṭai* of paddy; or it may refer to a military cess collected for maintaining fortifications and defence walls during wartime, as the *State Manual* has taken it. But in view of the information contained in one of the *ōlai* documents on p. , which says that the king forcibly demanded 125 *paṇam* per *kōṭṭai* (of land), the correct significance is not clear.

Kōvikkal—Palace and, by metonomy, the king, *kal* is the locative suffix, which is often erroneously retained in Malayalam even in the nominative case.

Kuḍichchai-paṇam—This word may probably be *kuḍiśśika-paṇam*, signifying arrears of tax and amounts due.

Kuḍi-vāṅgu—is to emigrate in a body to another place. *Kuḍi* = residence, and *vāṅgu* = to remove.

Maḍappiṟam—represents the lands etc. endowed as charity for the maintenance of *maṭhas* for the residence of an ascetic or for providing drinking water etc. to wayfarers. These lands cannot be sold to others.

Maḷavarāyaṇmār—is not clear; it occurs as a clan-name elsewhere.

Maṇalvāri—a variety of paddy grown in Nāñji-nāḍu, dependent probably on rain only.

Mānibam—is a gift of land made to individuals for meritorious service to kings or to government. These lands were inalienable and were only lightly taxed.

Māttāl-paṇam—A kind of tax imposed on the people in Nāñji-nāḍu—'an exchange commission'. If it be a tax of some *paṇam* per *mā* of land, we may have to expect *māvāl*, not *māttāl*.

Mēlvāram—A tax levied in kind on paddy-fields in addition to the ordinary dues paid to the government. The landlord's share of produce is also called *mēlvāram*.

Mēṭṭu-kāval—Kāval is a watchman, and *mēttu-kāval* probably has reference to a guard stationed in a commanding position (*mēḍu*), to watch over the doings of a village.

Moḻi-māṟā-ōlai—An agreement from which there was no possibility of retraction, as this was sworn on the names of gods at Suchīndram and Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Nāṟṟaḍi—the plot used as the nursery, for rearing the seedlings prior to transplantation (*nāṟṟup-paḍi*).

Naṭṭuttāṇam—means the *sthānam* of the *nāḍu*, or the rights, privileges, and status, which the *nāḍu* enjoyed in political and social matters.

Oḻugu—primarily means a boundary, but as derived from *oḻuṅgu*, 'a regulation in proper order', *oḻugu* has come to signify the sifting of old accounts and the checking of entries made from them. *Oḻugu* therefore connotes 'revenue settlement accounts' checked and reduced to some settled order.

Oppuravu-moḻi-ōlai or *oppuravu*—means an agreement of union (*oppu+uravu*). The document (*ōlai*) refers to a bond of union, which the parties entered into, to act unswervingly according to established customs and obligations.

Padivu-kāṇikkai—padivu is a document acknowledging the ryot's right to cultivate and *kāṇikkai* is a fee. The fee was apparently for getting the document written up and registered in the ryot's name. *Padivu* also means the usual expenses (of a temple).

Paḍukalam—is a debt-bond. Arrears of taxes on land were consolidated into a *paḍukalam*, because lands were not auctioned for arrears of rent, and an extra cess was levied on such lands as *paḍukalam-paliśa* to compensate the interest on the old arrears.

Paliśa—is the interest on money lent; it also occurs as *poliśai*.

Paṇḍālai—is a high caste Śūdra, but of a lower status than a Kshatriya. The Sāmūdiri is said to belong to this class.

Pandattinu-āmaṇakkeṇṇai—Castor oil for torches used during the entourage of kings.

Pāṭṭam—is an ordinary kind of lease, according to which the cultivator pays to the proprietor a stipulated proportion of produce in kind or in money etc., equal to the net produce, after the deduction of the seed sown and an equal quantity as reward for labour bestowed. It is of several varieties according to the particular nature of the transaction and the proportion of the quantities appropriated by the tenant and the owner respectively: *śamayap-pāṭṭam*, *nēr-pāṭṭam*, *tarap-pāṭṭam*, *maḍappu-pāṭṭam*, *paṇaip-pāṭṭam*, etc.

Peṟām(p)-pēṟu—Pēṟu is the abstract noun of *peṟu* (to obtain) and *peṟān(p)-pēṟu* probably signifies that which is not due to be levied or demanded.

Perumpaṟṟa or *Perumpaṟṟu-pāṭṭam*—is the varient name of *Paṇḍāravaka-pāṭṭam* and means the crown-lands belonging to the king leased out to tenants under a particular system of tenure.

Piḍāgaikkāraṉ—*Piḍāgai* is a sub-division comprising of a few villages and a *piḍāgaikkāraṉ* is the head of that territory. Nāñji-nāḍu was divided into six *piḍāgai*. *Nāḍu*, *piḍāgai*, *ūr* and individual have been referred to in the subjoined records in the descending order of unit measurement.

Piramadānam (*Brahmadānam*)—gifts of land to brahmans for their proficiency in learning or for their spiritual services; these lands were sometimes held tax-free.

Pirandanāḷ-virai-vakai—the gifts of paddy-grain given to brahmans on birth days. This supply of paddy required for distribution during royal birthdays is said to have originally devolved on the ryots, and that it was afterwards commuted into a small tax and collected on the lands in Nāñji-nāḍu.

Piśāṇam—is the Kumbham crop, ready for harvesting in Kumbham (Feb.-March).

Pū—is a crop, and *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* signify single and double crops raised on a field, according to its irrigation and other facilities.

Rāja-karam—royal hand *i. e.*, the royal administrative officers and the tribunal of the kings ministers. *Rāja-karam* also means the *karam* (taxes) due to the *rājā* (king).

Rājakara-upādi—the tax which had to be paid to the officers of the king. *Upādi* is the name of a tax—as in *upādi-viniyōgam* etc.

Śambā—is a superior kind of paddy-grain extensively grown in Nāñji-nāḍu.

Śāvu-kāṇikkai—was the funeral fee, usually a small amount which had to be paid to the king on the death of an individual. Similar fees were levied on festive occasions also, such as *Vāḻvu-kāṇikkai*, *Kaṇṇāla-kāṇikkai* etc.

Śēda-yādam—means loss of property and life and other evils.

Śiṟṟoṟṟi—is a sub-lease which the lessee of a certain property enters into with another, to whom he leases it out for some amount.

Sōṟā-oṟṟi—also called the *mūla-oṟṟi*, is a permanent lease or irrecoverable tenure, in the nature of *kuḍi-janmam*. As the *Kāraṇavanmār* in big families (*taravāḍ*) could not sell properties outright, they had recourse to the leasing of lands in perpetuity, for an amount almost equal to their normal sale value.

Talaikkuṟi or *tālaikkaraṇam*—is the original deed: *talai* signifies 'the first', while *kuṟi* is a document granted to the ryots, corresponding to *padivu* or *paṭṭā* of later days.

Taḷi-saṅkētam—*saṅkētam* is the name of a religious corporation and *taḷi* is a temple. The lands belonging to a temple were under the control of a separately constituted body of members, who, in olden days, wielded unlimited powers within their jurisdiction. Even the king had no control over these corporations except in a general way. The lands belonging to the temples and managed by the *yōgams* were also exempt from the payment of certain taxes and were under a special form of tenure.

Tāṇa-māṇam—Rights and privileges; 'a position with emoluments conferring authority of different kinds and varying degrees'. *Tāṇa* may be derived both from *sthāna* (status, right) or *dāna* (gifts).

Taṇippichēḷam—This is not understood.

Taṇittenḍam—individual fines.

Tīṭṭukkuṛi—*Tīṭṭu* is a Malayalam form of the word *śīṭṭu* and means 'a writ or document of brahmans and other high personages', and *kuṛi* is a note. *Tīṭṭukkuṛi* is therefore a document belonging to brahmans etc.

Tettu—properly *dattu*, means adoption. Apparently the properties connected with adoption were given special consideration.

Torūpa-janaṅgaḷ—*Torūpam* is a Malayalam form of *Svarūpam*, royalty. *Svarūpa-janaṅgaḷ* may therefore mean royal agents. *Svarūpi* is a chieftain or councillor. 'Svarūppakkār' as opposed to 'iḷḷakkār' connotes a lower section of śūdras in Travancore, who take service not under brahman masters but with higher class *śūdras*.

Tuṛakkarār—'are agents, accountants and other servants of a temple'. Under *pravarttikārs*, the last in gradation among the managing officers of respectability, were several inferior officers of whom a *Tuṛakkāṛan* was one.

Ubhayam-paliśa—In South Travancore, *ubhayam* has the meaning of rice-fields (*uḷpatti*). *Ubhayam-paliśa* is the interest, probably in kind, due on money or grain borrowed from the sirkar by the ryots in olden days.

Uḷkuḍu—*Uḷ* is the 'interior' and *kuḍu* is 'to give out'. The expression may be taken to mean 'to divulge the internal arrangements' to the opposite party.

Ulpatti—means 'lands' in Nāñji-nāḍu; the produce on lands may also be so called.

Vayyā-vari—Taxes that could not be borne (*vayya* is a Malayalam form of *vahiyā* from the Skt. word *vah* = to bear)

Vīṭṭōḍum-kūṭṭōḍum—*Vīḍu* is 'the house', *i.e.*, the inmates thereof, and *kūṭṭu* means his 'relatives and companions'. The full expression means 'all his relatives and dependants'.

No. 69—Olai document dated in Kollam 810.

Text.[1]

1 திருமலை ஞயககர் படை கொண்டுவந்த எதுவாய் எண்ணூற்று ஒருபதா-
2 மாண்டு கார் தரிசு விழுந்து பசானம் பயிரொற்றுவான் காலப்பிறப் பாடா-
ழ்கை
3 கொண்டு மணவாரியும் சம்பாவும் அதிக்கிராவியும் விதைச்சு புழுக்கொ-
ளாய்ப் பொக
4 கொண்டும் பொதரவு இல்லாழ்கைகொண்டும் நாட்டின்னு நொவு நொ-
ம்பிலம ஒண்டாய்

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[1] This has been referred to in the *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 302. The text of this *ōlai*-document was found in a Register in the office.

5 மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெருமபற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட்ட நாட்டார்

6 கல்குளத்து நாம் இரிக்கின்ற இடத்து வந்து தங்கடம் பறைகையில்

7 எண்ணூற்று ஒருபதாமாண்டு பசானம் ஒருப்பூ மெல்வாரம் வெண்டாமென்றும்

8 பசான மெல்வாரமாய் அளக்குமாறும் செயித[।*] இது எண்ணூற்று ஒருபதாமாண்டு மாசிமாதம்

9 இருபத்து இரண்டாங் தெயதி கல்பித்தமைக்கு இவ்வகைப்படியெ மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி

10 வரை பெரும்பற்று தளிசங்கெதம் உள்ப்பட பசானம் மெல்வாரமாக அளக்குமாறு கற்பிச்சு

11 இச்செய்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சினாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெரும்பற்றுத் தளிசங்கெதம்

12 உள்பட்ட வடவகை தென்வீதி நாட்டார்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதி விடுக என்று திருவுள்ளமாயது நீட்டு [॥*]

Translation.

As, on account of the invasion of the troops of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, the lands had been left uncultivated during the *kār* season of 810; as the season for sowing for *piśāṇam* crops could not also be utilised; as the *maṇalvāri*, *śambā* and *adikkirāvi* (different kinds of paddy) which were sown had suffered from blight; as the ryots had not the where-withal to begin fresh cultivation; and as the country had suffered much from calamities; the *nāṭṭārs* (ryots) of the territory between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkuḍi including those of (the lands of) *perumpaṟṟu* and *taḷi-saṅkētam* came (in a deputation) to our residence at Kalkuḷam and represented their grievances.

We were therefore pleased to relinquish the *oruppū-mēlvāram* tax of the year 810 and ordered *mēlvāram* alone to be collected on the *piśāṇam* crop (of the year).

Having thus decided on the 22nd day of the month of Māśi that only *mēlvāram* shall be realised on the *piśāṇam* cultivation in the territory from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi, inclusive of the *perumpaṟṟu* and *taḷi-saṅkētam* lands, this *nīṭṭu* (order) was notified to the ryots of the southern and the northern half of Nāñjināḍu, inclusive of those of *perumpaṟṟu* and *taḷi-saṅkētam* lands therein.

No. 70—Vadaseri record of Mangammal: Saka 1619.

The following record is so hopelessly misspelt, engraved as it must have been by an ignorant stone-mason, who in addition to his illiteracy appears also to have been an indifferent calligraphist, that it is impossible to make any sense out of this curious literary achievement. The date appears to be Śaka 1619, [Aṟpaśi], dvitīyā-*tithi* of the first fortnignt, and Hasta-nakshatra. In the auspicious Kumbha-lagna and Paṇṇi-karaṇa of this day, some charitable endowment appears to have been made, the nature of which is not determinable. In line 27 of the record the name of Maṅgammāḷ is mentioned; and it is possible that it refers to the

dowager Nāyaka queen of that name, who reigned as regent of her minor-grandson, Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha from A. D. 1689 to 1706, because the date of the record Śaka 1619 corresponds to A. D. 1697, the year in which this queen is said to have fitted out an expedition to Nāñji-nāḍu against the refractory Travancore king of that time *T. S. M.*, I·318. The well near which this inscribed slab is set up is locally called the Maṅgammāḷ-*dharma-kiṇaṟu.*

The individual named Ārumuga-Peru[māḷ] who appears to have been mentioned in lines 23 and 24 may possibly be identical with his namesake who has figured in the cadjan documents dated in Kollam 878, 889 and 898.

Text.[1]

1 சாலிவக-
2 ம் சதற்த்தள்
3 கஊ[சூ]ாயிகூ
4 வல்ச்சலமண
5 . . . செல்[லு]-
6 மக்க நறு யாஹ
7 வைப்பசி அ-
8 அய வசிப்பறு-
9 க்கள உமய-
10 ம பூறுவபச-
11 றறு துதிகை.
12 சுபஹமெய[ர*]க-
13 மும் பன்ணி-
14 சரளமும் அத்-
15 த நட்செத்தி-
16 மும் கும்பலெ-
17 ம். அதுச ந-
18 ட்கெத்தி[ர*]மு-
19 ம் கும்பலெ-
20 ச்சுமம் அ-
21 ன்று சுயதன-
22 த்தில் செட்-
23 [டு] ஆறுமுகப்-
24 பெருதிரமஹ-
25 யசாக வமிக
26 முல்ல யிதின்ன-
27 ள் மங்கம்ம
28 வஃவன்றி-
29 ட்செ சங்கர-
30 ள்ளி சட்டுள ச
31 து செசகம்பஹ-
32 ங சசஙயிசண-
33 முஹசகுமவவ
34 புணயபளட்செ
35 சுகின்செ குவை-
36 வ சனய்யறுறு
37 அவரிச் சென
38 றத்துன் திவெ-
39 மம் வெச்சுட்ட
40 ம் நெசவைமன்செ-
41 வசமாக

—— ——

No. 71—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 873.

Text.[2]

First side.

1 அாஅயிஙு ௵ காத்திகை[க]மீ ௨ நாட்டு-
2 த்தங்கடம் தீத்து கல் நாட்டி கொ-
3 டுத்த வகை [।*] நாயகரிடெ படை வந்து நா-
4 ஞ்சிநாட்டில் அாறுயி௨ ௵ முதல் பல-
5 நாளும் படை வந்து படைக்கெடு வரு-
6 கை கொண்டு அா[ச]யிகூ ௵ பசானம்[3] முதல் அா-

1 Registered as No. 118 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 112 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. A duplicate of this record is found engraved on another pillar at Vayyāḷiviḷai at Iḍarāyakkuḍi.

3 This and other words have been expressed by perplexing symbols.

7 கூாகூ ௵ பசானம் வரை அஞ்சாலி அடைச்சு
8 [கணக்கு][1] அடைக்க கொண்டும் [1]கார்பூ உம் பசானம்[1] பூ
9 ம௲ம் ஆக பூ மடும் நாம் கழிச்சு கொடுக்க-
10 யில் அஞ்சாலி குத்தகை கொட்டைப்-
11 பதிவுக் காணிக்கை பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெ-
12 ண்ணை வகையும் கச்சையாவினை பிறந்ந-
13 நாள் [பி]ரை[2] வகையும் கூடக் குறைச்சுங்
14 கொடுத்து மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஓலை-
15 ப் பெட்டிகழும் தீட்டி குறிகளும் பொய்[ப்]-
16 பொகையில் கெடு ஓலைகெள் யாதாமொ-
17 ருத்தர் பற்றில் காணுந் நாள் கண்ட கள-
18 த்தில் கீறுங் கிழியும் பட்டுப் பொமா-
19 றும் தனிப்பிச் செழமும் [மெத]த்தும் எடு-
20 த்தடக்கிய கரை புள்ளி காணியாட்சை
21 உள்பட்ட வகை விட்டுக் கொடுத்து[।*] ப-
22 டைக்கிலாகிலும் கவர்ச்செயிலும்
23 பொய முறிவகையாலும் கரண கா-
24 ரியமெங்கிலும் உடையவன் அல்லா-
25 தெ அந்நியவராயிட்டும் பெரும்[3]பொரா-
26 யிட்டும் ஓலைகொண்டும் வருந்நாள் அ-
27 ய்யொலை பிறமாணமல்ல[।*] பாட்டமும்
28 மெல்வாரமும் தழிசங்கெதமு உள்ப்-
29 பட காரினு அற்பசியும் காத்திகையும்
30 பசானம் பங்கூனியும் சித்திரையும்
31 நெல்லு கொடுக்கிந்ந தல்லாதெ வி-
32 லைத்தரத்தினு பணம் கொடுக்கயும்
33 அருது[।*] வெண்டிக்கையும் அருது[।*] ப-
34 டுகலம் கடன்முறி உபையம் பலிசை அ-
35 ற்றுவாரத்ததினு படுகலம் கடன் பொ-
36 க்குகையும் வெண்டாம்[।*] தனித்தெண்-
37 டம் சாவுகாணிக்கை வெண்டா எ-
38 ந்றும் சங்கெதப் பற்றிலும் பெரும்பற்றி-
39 லும் பெருப்பெறு வெண்டிப் பிடி-
40 ச்சு உல்பத்தி தடுத்தால் தடையில்லை எந்-
41 றும் சங்கெதக்காறர் கொண்ட கடத்தி-
42 னு மெல்வாரம் தகைஞ்ஞு வெண்டிக்கொ-
43 ள்ளுந்ந தல்லாதெ தெச தடை தடுக்கருது
44 என்றும் மெல்வாரத்தினும் பாட்டத்தினும்
45 தன் ஞண்டைக்குறியும் தலைக்குறியும் கா-
46 ட்டி ஒப்பிச்சு கொள்ளுமாறும்

Second side.

47 நம்பிடெ ஆளு-
48 கெள் பிறப்-
49 பட்டால் பிரா-
50 மணர்க்கு செ-

1 Many words are expressed by perplexing symbols.

2 Can it not be நாளில் விரைவகையும்?

3 பெருப்பெறு.

51 லவினு கெ-
52 ல் பந்திரு நா-
53 ழியும் சூத்திர-
54 ர்க்கு நெல் ஒன்-
55 பதி நாழியும்
56 அல்லாதே
57 கொடுக்க-
58 ருது என்றும்
59 ஆக இவ்வ-
60 கைக்கு ௲-
61 எ௰௵ அற்ப-
62 சி௴ ௰எஉயு-
63 ம் ௲எ௰க-
64 ௵ வைகா-
65 சி௴ ௰கூ உயும்
66 கொடுத்த கீட்-
67 டும்படிக்கு விர-[1]
68 விளாவிலும்
69 வடசெரி
70 குதிரைப்பந்திவி-
71 ளாயிலும் வை-
72 யாழிவிளாயி-
73 லும் கல்லுவெ-
74 ட்டி நாட்டியதின்
75 வண்ணம்
76 பிறமாண-
77 மாக நட-
78 ந்து கொ-
79 ள்ளுமாறு-
80 ம் செய்க [।*]
81 யிலு வடவ-
82 கெ தென்யிதி
83 நாடைமந்-
84 த பேர்க்கு
85 கல்வெட்டு [॥*]

No. 72—A duplicate copy at Idarayakkudi.[2]

Text.

First side.

1 சிவமயம்
2 கொல்லம் ௲எயகூ௵ காத்திகை ௴ சஉ
3 நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீத்து கல்லு வெ-
4 ட்டி நாட்டிக்கொடுத்த வகை [।*]
5 நாயக்கரிடெ படைவந்து நாஞ்சி-
6 னாட்டு ௲௱௰உ௵ முதல் பல நா-
7 ளும் படை வந்து படைக்கெடு வ-
8 ருகைக் கொண்டு ௲சா௰க௵ பசானம்
9 முதல் ௲அ௰கூ பசானம் வரைக்கும்
10 அஞ்சாலியில் அடைச்சு கணக்கு
11 அடைக்க வெண்டும் கார்பூவு உம்
12 பசானம் பூவு ௰ஙம் ஆக பூவு ௰ரும் நா-
13 ம் கழிச்சுக் கொடுக்கையில் அஞ்சா-
14 லிக் குத்தகைக் கொட்டை பதிவுகாணி-
15 க்கை பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெண்-
16 ணெ வகையும் கச்சைபாவினையும்
17 பிறந்த நாளில் விரைவகையும் கூ-
18 ட மகாறைச்சும் செடுத்து மங்க-
19 ல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஓலைப்பெ-
20 ட்டிகளும் சீட்டிகுறிகளும் பொய்-

1 The syllable விர looks also like மர and the name of the p ace will then be மரவிளா.

2 The place in which this stone is set up is said to have been called the Vaiyyali-vilai.

21 ப்பொரகையில் கூடி ஓலைகளை யாதா-
22 மொருத்தர் பற்றில் காணுந் நாள் கண்-
23 ட களத்தில் கீற்றும் கிழியும் பட்டு-
24 ப்பொமாறும் தன்னிப்பிச்செழுமும்
25 தெற்த்தும் எடுத்து அடக்கிய கரை
26 புள்ளி காணியாட்சை யுள்ப்பட்ட
27 வகை விட்டுக் கொடுத்து [।*] படை-
28 க்கிலாகியிலும் கவர்ச்சை-
29 யிலும் பொய முறி வகையாகிலு-
30 ம் காணகாரிய மெங்கிலும்

Second side.

31 உடையவன் அல்-
32 லாதெ அன்னிய-
33 வராயிட்டும் பெ-
34 ரு[ப்]பெருயிட்-
35 டும் ஓலை கொண்-
36 டு வருந் நாள் அய்-
37 யொலைப் பிறமாண-
38 மல்ல [।*] பாட்டமும்
39 மெல்வாரமும்
40 தழிசங்கெதம்
41 உள்ப்பட காரி-
42 லு அற்பிசியும்
43 காத்திகையும் ப-
44 சானம் பைங்-
45 கூனியும் சித்திரை-
46 யும் நெல்லு கொ-
47 டுக்கிந்ந தல்லா-
48 தெ விலை தாத்தி-
49 லு பணம் கொ-
50 டுக்கையும் அ-
51 ருது [।*] வெண்-
52 டிக்கையும்
53 அருது [।*] படுக-
54 லம் கடன்மு-
55 யி உபையம்
56 பலிசை அ-
57 த்துவாத்த-
58 கிலு படுகல-
59 மும் கடனும்

Third side-

60 பொக்குகையும் வெண்டா [।*]
61 தனித்தெண்டம் சாவு-
62 காணிக்கை வெண்டா
63 எந்றும் சங்கெதப்ப-
64 ற்றிலும் பெரும்பற்றிலும்
65 பெரு[ம்]பெறு முறி வெ-
66 ண்டிப் பிடிச்சு உல்-
67 ப்பத்தி தடுத்தால் தடை-
68 யில்லை எந்றும் சங்கெ-
69 தக்காரர் கொண்ட கட-
70 த்திலு மெல்வாரம் திகைஞ்-
71 ஞு வெண்டிச்சு கொ-
72 ள்ளுந்ந தல்லாதெ தெசத-
73 டை தடுக்கருது எந்றும்
74 மெல்வாரத்திலு பாட்ட-
75 த்திலும் தன்னுண்டை-
76 க்குறியும் தலைக்குறியும்
77 காட்டி ஒப்பிச்சுக் கொ-

78 ள்ளுமாறும் நம்மிடை-
79 ஆளுகெள் பிறப்பட்டால்
80 பிராமணர்க்கு செலவி-
81 ஞு நெல் பன்னிருநா-
82 ழியும் சூத்திரர்க்கு செலவி-
83 ஞு நெல் ஒன்பதிநாழி-
84 யும் அல்லாதெ கொடு-
85 க்கருது என்றும் ஆக இ-
86 வ்வகைக்கு ஆளவய ௵
87 அற்பசி ௴ம் யெ உயும் ஆள-
88 எயக ௵ வைகாசி மீ"ம் தெடவ

Fourth side.

89 கொடுத்த நீட்டி-
90 ன்ப'ஓக்கு [வீர]-
91 விஜயயிலும்
92 வடசெரி குதி-
93 ரைப்பந்தி வி-
94 ஜயயிலும் வை-
95 ய்யாழிவிளை-
96 யிலும் கல்-
97 வெட்டி நாட்டி-
98 பதின் வண்ண-
99 ம் பிறமாணமாக ந—-
100 ந்று கொள்ளுமா-
101 று செய்க [।*] இது
102 வடவகை தெ-
103 ன்பிதி நாடமை-
104 ந்த பெர்க்கு கல்-
105 வெட்டு [॥*]

Translation.

This is the inscription (engraved on a stone and) set up on the 4th day of month of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 873.

Owing to considerable losses on account of the frequent invasions into Nāñji-nāḍu of the Nāyaka's army from (Kollam) 852 onwards, we have remitted the arrears of *añjāli*-tax on two *kār*-crops and thirteen *pisānam*-crops, or fifteen crops in all; and we have also been pleased to reduce our claims for the taxes—*añjāli*, *kuttagai*, *kōṭṭaippadivu-kāṇikkai*, supply of castor oil for the torches and (presents of ?) clothes, and grain-seed on (royal?) birthdays.

As the boxes, and the *ōlai* documents in them, had been lost by the people in the territory between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkuḍi, we order that, if the documents should be found in the possession of anybody, they should be at once torn to pieces then and there, while those appertaining to *tanippichēḻam*, and properties which have been held by adoptions, service-tenures etc., were to be in force.

When, owing to the confusion and plunder made by the forces, *ōlai*-bonds and *kāṇam*-documents which were lost, are (now) presented by different men other than the rightful owners thereof, they shall not be considered valid.

The *pāṭṭam* and *mēlvāram*, on all lands including *taḷi-saṅkētam*, shall be paid only in paddy in the months of Arpaśi and Kārttigai for the *kār* crops, and Paṅguṇi and Chittirai for *piśānam*-crops, and shall not be paid or demanded in money at commutation rates.

As the *ubhaiya-paliśa* cannot be realised on the *paḍukalam* (lease-deeds) and *kaḍam-muṟi* (debt-bonds), it shall not be demanded. The funeral fees and individual fines shall also be excused.

If the properties in *saṅkētappaṟṟu* and *perumpaṟṟu* are kept under distraint for the dues of the excess tax (*pērāppēṟu*), this shall not hold good.

On account of the debts incurred by the men of the *saṅkētam* (lands), the villages shall not be distrained; but after the full *mēlvāram* is paid, the balance can then be requested for adjustment.

When the taxes of *mēlvāram* and *pāṭṭam* are paid, the receipt shall be obtained by showing the receipts for that year and the preceding year. When our subordinates go out (on tour), not more than 12 *nāḻi* shall be given to a brahman for expenses, and 9 *nāḻi* for a śūdra (per day).

Thus, the people shall act according to the regulation engraved on stones and set up at Vīra-viḷai, Kudiraippandi-viḷai at Vaḍaśēri and Vaiyāḷi-viḷai, in accordance with the two royal orders issued on the 17th of Aṟpaśi in the Kollam year 870 and on the 13th of Vaikāśi in the (Kollam) year 871.

This inscription is intended for the residents of the southern sub-division of the northern half of Nāñji-nāḍu.

No. 73—Olai document of Kollam 878.

1 ௮௱௭௰௮ ௵ அற்ப்பசி ௴ ௧௨ நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை வட-
செரியில் திருவாசலிற் கூடியிருந்து எழுதின மொழியோல யாவிது [|*] நம்முடய நாடு ௮௱௭௰௨ ௵ முதல் கிளக்கெ இருந்து படையும் வினையும் வந்தபடியினாலெயும்

2 முன்னாக இருந்து இராசகர உபாதி யுள்ளான படியினாலெயும் நாம் கூ-டியும் குடி வாங்கியும், பிலத்து நம்முடைய சொத்தியம் சொதிப்பிச்-சுக்கொண்டு இராத படியினாலெயும் நம்முடய உற்பத்தியளும் கரை பு-ள்ளி காணியாட்செயளும்

3 அவர் அவரெ எடுத்து அடக்கிக்கொண்ட படியினாலெயும், அந்தந்த ஊர்த்-துரக்காறர் பண்டு முன்னாள் இல்லாத காரியங்கள் நடத்தி உபத்திரிக்-கிறபடியினாலெயும், இராசகரங்களுக்கு நம்முடைய நாட்டிலெ இருந்-து சிலர் கொளுங் குமண்டெயுஞ் சொல்லி-

4 விச் சிரிக்கிறபடியினாலெயும், நெடுநாட் சென்ற படுகலங்கள் மீட்டு முளிக-ள்க்கொளள ஓலைகள் கள்ளப்படுகலங்கள் அவரவரெ பெறும்பெறுகக் கொண்டு குடுத்து இராசகரங்கள் உபத்திரிக்கிற படியினாலெயும், அ-வரவரெ சுவாசனம் இட்ட விடத்திலெ

5 சைப்பெட்டிகளைத் திறந்து ஓலைகள் கொண்டுவந்து உபத்திரிக்கிறபடியினா-லெயும், சிபற்பனாபப்பெருமாள் ஆதிகெசவப்பெருமாள் வக பதினொ-ரு மடத்திலும் மடத்துப் பொற்றிமாரும் பிள்ளைமாரும் கடன் கொ-ண்ட வக முறியைப் பெறுக இராசகரம் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு நம்முடய உற்பத்திகளை-

6 யும் விரைக்கவும் கதிர் அறுக்கவும் ஒட்டாமல் உபத்திரிக்கிற படியினாலெ-யும், சொரர ஒற்றி மீட்ச தரவெணும் என்று உண்டான படியினாலெ-யும், சிற்றெற்றிக்கு குறை இல்லாமல் பணம் பெறவெணு மென்று உ-ண்டானபடியினாலெயும், நம்முடைய உற்பத்திகளைத் தள்ளுதலையா;

க க-

7 ல்லுப்பொட்டு உபத்திரிச்ச படியினுலெயும், நம்முடைய வீடுவகயாயுள்ள ச-
னங்கள் தள்ளுதலையாக பெரும்பெறு கண்டு நிக்கிறபடியினுலெயும்,
நம்முடைய வக பறையடிமைக்கார் அவர் அவரெ தள்ளுதலயாக இ-
ராசகாரங்கள் கூட்டிக் கைய்யாளுகிற

8 படியினுலெயும் மற்றும் பலகூட்டம் உபத்திரவங்கள் ஒண்டானபடியினு-
லெயும், நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியுட பிலத்து நின்று நிருபவிச்சுக்-
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] நம்முடைய நாட்டுக்குள்ள ஒருவனுக்காகி-
லும் ஒரு ஊருக்காகிலும் ஒரு பிடாகைக்காகிலும்

9 நாட்டுக்காகிலும் ஒரு காரியகருமங்கள் வனபாய உண்டானலும், பத்து
பதினறு பணம் செலவளிந்த தொண்டானலும், நாட்டுப் பொதுவிலெ
குடுத்து நின்று நிக்கு நிலைக்கு நின்று கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] ஒரு
ஊரிலெ நாட்டிலெ ஒரு காரியகருமம் உண்டானல் உபத்திரமுள்ள
பெர்கள்

10 பொதுத்தலத்திலெ வந்து கூடி அந்தந்தப் பிடாகையில் வந்து சொன்ன
உடனெ நாம் எல்லொரும் வந்து கூடி நிக்கு நிலை நின்று நிருபவிச்சுக்
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] இந்த வகைப்படியெ இந்த மொழிஓலைப்ப-
டிக்கு வந்து கூடிப் பிலவாமல் இயாதா மொருவர் கூட்டத்துக்கு வா-
ராதிருந்தால்

11 வாராத பெர்களை நாட்டு சொத்தியம் சொதிச்சுப்பொடுவொமாகவும்
[।*] இந்த மொழி ஓலைப்படி நயினர் தாணுவாலயப்பெருமாள் நயினர்
சீபாதமெ தப்பாமல் மொழிஓலை எழுதிக்கொண்டோம் வடவகை
தென் மீதி நாடமைந்த ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

On the 1st day of Aṟpaśi of the (Kollam) year 878, the district (*nāḍu*) from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi met in the sacred temple at Vaḍaśēri and passed the following resolution:—

As troops and trouble came from the east; as there has been trouble from the State for some time; as we have not been united in exercising our right of protesting against coercion etc; as others have misappropriated our properties, holdings and other hereditary rights; as the agents of the respective villages have been oppressing us with unusual innovations; as some individuals of this division have carried false reports against us to the royal authorities; as royal officers are harassing us on account of the forged *paḍukalam* deeds which several persons have produced in place of old *paḍukalam* documents and discharged bonds; as they have forced open some boxes and are harassing us with the documents (extracted therefrom); as the government have taken hold of the documents executed by the *pōttis* and the *piḷḷaimār* of the eleven *maṭhams* belonging to Śrī Padmanābha-Perumāḷ and Ādikēśava-Perumāḷ and are preventing us from cultivating or harvesting our fields; as we have had to redeem the perpetual mortgages (*śōrā-oṟṟi*); as the whole amounts have to be realised on sub-mortgages (*śiṟṟoṟṟi*); as our holdings are being arbitrarily determined by boundary-stones; as our houses are being distrained unjustly and their inmates evicted; as the government officials force our *paraya* (slave-) labourers to work for them as they please; and as many other similar calamities have befallen us:—

We resolve to act in unison and to make a bold stand even by emigration, and thus protect our affairs.

If any untoward things should happen to any individual, village, *piḍāgai* or *nāḍu* in this district (Nāñji-nāḍu), we shall meet from our common funds an expense even up to ten or sixteen *paṇam* and shall unswervingly stand upon our rights. If anything occurs in a village or in the sub-division, the aggrieved party shall meet in a public place and report the matter to the *piḍāgaikkār*, and we shall all then assemble together and resolve on what has to be done under the circumstances. If anyone fail to attend such meetings as required by these regulations, and thus weaken the party, he shall be subject to enquiry by the assembly of the *nāṭṭār*.

According to these regulations, this document has been drafted and sworn on the sacred feet of Tāṇumālaiya-Perumāḷ.

This is the writing of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern portion of the Nāñji-nāḍu north.

No. 74— Olai document of Kollam 889: Kulasekhara-Perumal.

1 ௮௱௮௰௯ ௵ மார்கழி ௴ ௰௪௳ நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை இ-
ரண்டிலைகை நாடும் ஆச்சிராமத்துக் கொவிக்கலிலக் கூடி யிருந்து ஒப்-
புரவு ஓலை எழுதிக்கொண்ட பரிசாவிது [|*] நம்முடைய நாட்டிலெ

2 பலபடப் பலபட அரமனைக் குதிரையும் இராணுவும் வந்து அழிச்சதி-
னாலெயும், நாம் கொள் காணி உற்பத்திக்கெல்லாம அஞ்சாலி மெல்-
வாரம் இறுத்து நாடு தொண்ண நாள் முதல் நடந்து வந்து இருக்க-
வெ கொட்டைப்பணமும்

3 வையாவரியும் வைச்சு இறுத்தபடியினாலெயும் நாடு அறவெ நொந்து கெ-
ட்டுப் பொய் யிருக்கவெ இனிமெல்ப்பட்டு தம்பிரான் குலசெகரப்பெ-
ருமாள் தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றி அருளிக் கற்பிச்ச படிக்கு நட-
ந்து கட்டாக இனிமெல்ப்பட்டு

4 அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமுமாயிட்டு உள்ள இறையும் இறுத்து வருகிறதெ
அல்லாமல் கொட்டைப்பண மெங்கிலும் வைய்யாவரி எங்கிலும் இ-
றுக்கிறதில்லை என அப்படியிருக்க கொட்டைப்பண மெங்கிலும்
வையாவரி எங்கிலும் வைக்க-

5 வெணு மென்று இராசகரத்திலெ யிருந்து உபத்திரிக்குங் காலம் நாம் கூ-
டியும் குடிவாங்கியும் நின்று நிறுபவிச்சுக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [|*]
நம்முடைய நாட்டுத் தானமாயிட்டு உள்ளதெல்லாம் பண்டு முன்னாள்
நம்முடைய காரண-

6 வமார் நடத்திவந்தபடிக்குத் தானமானமாய் உள்ளதெல்லாம் நடத்திக்
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [|*] ஆனைவாள்ப் பிறப்பட்டதெ உண்டானால்
அண்ணாவிமாருக்கு பந்திருநாளியும் நாயமாருக்கு ஒன்பது நா-

7 ழி நெல்லும ஆக விருதி குடுத்துப் பொதுவொமாகவும் [|*] ஷை ௵ கார்
கொட்டைப்பணம் அனுச்ச குடிச்சைக்கு கெள்விக்காறர் கணக்கும்ப-
டிக்கு சடிச்சைப்பணம் அடைக்கிறதெ அல்லாமல் ஒழுகு என்றும்
கணக்குப் பிசகு-

8 என்றும் சொன்னதெ உண்டானலும், நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும பிலெ-
த்துக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] இப்படி நடந்துவாற விடத்தில் ஒரு
பிடாகையிலெ ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலெ ஆகிலும் ஒருத்தன் பெரிலெ ஆ-
கிலும் இராசகரஉபாதி கொண்டு செத யாதம்

9 வந்ததெ உண்டானல் நாட்டுப்பொதுவிலெ சிலவு கொடுத்து நிறுத்திக்
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்படி நடந்து பொதுவிடத்தில் இ-
யாதா மொருத்தராகிலும் இராசகரத்துக்கு உளக் குதித்து நாட்டு-
த்தானத்தை அழிச்ச பெர்களை நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம்

10 சொதிச்சு பொடுவொமாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்படிக்கு நயினர் தாணுமாலயப்
பெருமாள் நயினர் சீபாதமெ தப்பாது நயினர் பூதனாதசுவாமி சீபா-
தமெ தப்பாது இந்தப்படிக்கு இந்த ஒப்பரவு ஓலை எழுதிக் கொ-
ண்டொம் வடவகை தென்மீதி

11 நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

On the 14th day of the month of Mārgaḻi in the (Kollam) year 889, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkuḍi, having met in the temple(?) at Āśrāmam, drafted the following agreement:

As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers invaded (our territory) and caused great damage (to us), and as we have also been obliged to pay *kōṭṭaippaṇam* and other intolerable taxes, though from the time this land came into existence (*i. e.*, from time immemorial) we have been continuing to pay only *añjāli* and *mēlvāram* on the produce of lands under us, the land has suffered very grievously: we shall therefore continue to pay only the *añjāli* and the *mēlvāram* taxes according to the royal order of king Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ-Tambirāṇ but not any *kōṭṭaippaṇam* and other unusual taxes. If however, royal officers coerce us into paying *kōṭṭaippaṇam* and other taxes, we shall protest by united action, and, if necessary by leaving the country, we shall honourably retain all the privileges and rights, which our *kāraṇavar* (ancestors) had enjoyed in olden days.

If palace officials come, we shall give them allowances at the rate of 12 *nāḻi* only for each Aṇṇāvi (personal attendant of the king) and 9 *nāḻi* only for each Nāyar among them.

As regards the balance of *kōṭṭaippaṇam* for the *kār* crop of the above year, we should only pay arrears as per account of the *kēḻvi*-officer; but if they should demand any items as due according to the revenue accounts or as due to omission of entries in accounts, we shall show our determination by united protest or by leaving the place.

While acting in this manner, if by the action of the Government, any *piḍāgai* or village, or any single individual, is subjected to any loss, we shall jointly contribute towards the expenses and stop the injustice. When the affairs are being conducted in this manner, if any one should connive with the government at impairing the privileges or rights of the country, we shall subject him to a public enquiry in the *nāḍu* (assembly).

We have thus drafted this bond of union, taking oath at the feet of god Tāṇumālaiya-Perumāḷ and god Bhūthanāthasvāmin not to swerve (from it).

Signed Ārumuka-Perumāḷ, of the southern division and the northern portion of Nāñji-nāḍu.

No. 75— Isantimangalam olai document of Kollam 894.

1 ௮௱௯௰௪ ௵ வைகாசி ௴ ௨௰௨ உ நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரெ ச-
சாந்திமங்கலத்து திருவாசலில் இரண்டுவகை நாடுங் கூடியிருந்து எ-
ழுதின மொழிமாறு ஓலையாவிது [।*]

2 ௮௰௨ ௵ முதல் ஆண்டுதொறுங் குதிரையுங் படையும் வந்து இறுத இ-
றையும் இறுத்து வையாத வரியும் வச்சு தெய்வதானம் பிரமதான
மானிப மடப்பிறத்துக்கு வையாவரியும் வச்சு இறை

3 இறுத்து பூசை முட்டிப் பொனபடியினாலெயும், சீனிவாசராகு[1] இந்நா-
ட்டில் ஆடுமாடும் நிரை சாய்ச்சு நாட்டு அம்பலகாறரையும் பிடிச்சு
கொண்டு பொன படியினாலெயும், [2]பெற்றுரெட்டியென் நாள-

4 தொறும் நாட்டிலெ மாடு நிரை சாய்ச்சு கொண்டு பொனபடியினாலெயும்,
அனந்தொசிநயக்கர் தென்மீதி நாட்டிலெ நூல் தாலியும் பறிச்சு பெ-
ண்ணும்பிள்ளை காதுகளு மறுத்து

5 மாடு நிரை சாய்ச்சு நாட்டிலெயுள்ள நெல்லும் வித்தும் வாரி நாட்டிலெ
மெட்டுக்காவலும் ஊர்தொறும் பொட்டு நெல்லும் வித்தும் வாரிவித்-
துக் கொண்டுபொன படியினாலெயும், சிவிந்திரத்தில் சுவாமி-

6 யுட சங்கெத மானபடியினாலெ ஆவிட மொரு ஒதுக்கிட மென்று சொல்லி
நாட்டிலுண்டான பெட்டிப்பிறமாணமும் பொன் வெள்ளி வெங்கல
பாத்திறமும் சீலெ பிடவையளும் நெல்லும் வித்தும் படைநடத்தி

7 கொண்டு பொட்ட வகை எல்லாம் கொள்ளையாடினபடியினாலெயும், சிவ-
ந்திரமும் ஆச்சிராமமும் தீப்பெட்ட படியினாலெயும், கடையறை முறி-
ச்சுக் கொண்டு பொனபடியினாலெயும், இநதப்படி மசதப்பட்டு

8 நயினருட சங்கெத மளிஞ்ச படியினாலெயும் இந்தப்படி பல கூட்டம உப-
த்திரம் நாட்டிலெ உண்டான படியினாலெயும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு
காரியக்காறரும் தொருப சனங்களும் நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீத்து

9 குடியிருத்தாத படியினாலெ, நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ௯௰௨
௵ கார் முதல் பயிரிடாமல் தரிசு பொடுகையில், இந்த தங்கடங்க ளெ-
ல்லாம் தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு காரியக்காறரும் தொருப சனங்களும்

10 தீற்ப்பிச்சு தந்து நாட்டை குடியிருத்தினால் பயிர் செய்வொமாகவும் [।*]
நாட்டுத்தானமாக உள்ளதெல்லாம் காரணவமார் நெரத்தில் நடந்தப-
டியெ நடந்து கொள்வொமாகவும் [।*] நாட்டிலெ யாதா மொருவரா-
கிலும் இராச-

11 காத்துக்கு உள்க்குடுத்து நாட்டுத்தானத்தை உள்ளழிச்ச பெர்கள் வீட்-
டொடுங் கூட்டொடுஞ் சொதிச்சுக் கொள்வொமாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்-
படி நடக்குமிடத்தில் நாட்டிலெ ஒரு பிடாகையிலாகிலும் ஒரு ஊரி-
லாகிலும் ஒருவன்

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1 Srinivāsa Rao.
2 Probably Pedda-Reḍḍi.

12 வீட்டிலாகிலும் உபத்திர முண்டானல் நாட்டுத்தரணமாக கூடியுங் குடி-
வாங்கியும் பிலத்துக்கொள்வொமாகவும் [।*] இப்படி வடவகை தெ-
ன்மீதி நாட்டமைந்து ஆறுமுக பெருமாள் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

On the 15th day of the Vaikāśi month in the year 894, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkuḍi having met at Īśāntimaṅgalam drew up the following unshakeable resolutions:

As the royal cavalry and troops had made annual visitations from the year 82 (Kollam 882), and had levied unprecedented taxes and other unbearable extortions on the *dēvadānam, brahmadēyam, mānyam* and *maḍappuṛam* lands, and as worship (in temples) had been hindered thereby; as Śrīnivāsa-Rāvu had lifted cattle herds and captured the *ambalakkār* also; as Peddā-Reḍḍi had been similarly carrying away herds of cattle from the country; as Anantōji-Nāyakkar had deprived (women) even of their marriage-badges, ruptured their ear lobes (while forcibly removing the ornaments in them), lifted herds of cattle and plundered paddy and seed-grain from the country and had also appointed *mēṭṭukkāval* in every village for further carrying off paddy and seed-grain; as all the boxes containing cadjan deeds, gold, silver, brass vessels, articles of apparel, paddy and seed-grain of the whole district which had been deposited at Suchīndram in the hope that it would be a place of safety being within the *saṅkētam* of the god, had all been looted; as Suchīndram and Āśrāmam had been set on fire; as all the shops (therein) had been looted; as, in this manner, even the *saṅkētam* of the god Nāyaṉār had suffered; as numerous other similar troubles had happened to us in this district; and (finally) as the officers and *svarūpakkārar* of the king have not set right these disturbances of the country to enable us to settle down in peace—

the tract of country from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi had been left uncultivated from the *kār*-season of 92 (Kollam 892).

If the king issues orders to his agents and officials to set right the disturbed state of the country and settle us peacefully, we shall begin cultivation. Our prerogatives shall be as they were formerly in the time of our ancestors. If any one connives with the Government to undermine our established rights, he and his whole family shall be answerable to us.

While conducting ourselves in this manner, if, in this district, any *piḍāgai*, village or house be subjected to any trouble, we shall put a united front and, if necessary, emigrate (elsewhere).

(This is) the signature of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern sub-division and the northern half (of Nāñji-nāḍu).

No. 76— Olai document of Kollam 896.

1 കിഴക്കെ നിന്നും വന്ന ഇരാണവും കുതിരെയും ചെവുകം ഒഴിച്ചു കിഴ-
ക്കെ

2 അയക്കെയും ചെയ്തു [।*] തൊശ്രുവചനങ്ങൾ എല്ലാവരും ഒന്നിച്ചു-
തിരുവാട്ടാററു

3 എത്തിടവെ യെണ്ടുന്നതും കൈയും പറഞ്ഞുതെഴിഞ്ഞു കീഴ്മരുചാതി
വലിയ അമ്മാവന്റെ

4 നെരത്തു നടന്നു വന്ന പിരകാരത്തിനു കൈയും നടക്കത്തക്ക വണ്ണമാ-
യിട്ടു

5 പറഞ്ഞു തെഴികെയും ചെയ്തു [।*] താങ്ങൾ എല്ലാവരും കീഴ് മരുചാ-
തിയെപ്പൊലെ

6 നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടു വന്നു കുടിയും ഇരുന്നു കാലതാമതം വന്നു പൊകാതെ കണ്ടു
നാൾ ച്ചെയിതു

7 പയിര് ച്ചെയികയും വെണം [।*] ഇച്ചെയിതിക്കു എണ്ണൂറ്റ തൊണ്ണൂറ്റ
ആറാമാണ്ടു മാചിമാതം

8 ഇരുപത്തു ആറാം തെയതി കല്പിത്തതെക്കു തെൻവീതി നാടമൈന്ത
പെര്ക്കു

9 നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു [।।*]

Translation.

"The army and cavalry which had come from the east had been disbanded and sent back to the east. All the members of the *svarūpam* having together reached Tiruvāṭṭār and after hearing the representations as to what was needed, decided that matters shall be conducted in the same way as they were in the time of the *ammāvaṉ* (the pevious king)

All of you shall therefore come back to Nāñji-nāḍu, reside there, and shall, without delay, fix the time and begin the cultivation".

This is the order which was ordered to be issued accordingly, to the inhabitants of the southern sub-division (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 26th day of the month of Māśī in the (Kollam) year 896.

No. 77—Olai document of Kollam 898.

ஆ௱கூ௰அ ௵ ஆனி ௴ உ௰ரு நாயக்கர் அப்பய்யனும் ராணுவும் வந்த
வகக்கு மெல்வாரம் உபயம் பலிசை வகக்கு கொட்டைகக்கு ௨ வ
களிச்ச வகக்கு நீட்டு [।*]

1 நாயக்கர் வகை இராணுவுங் குதிரையும் திருச்சினாப்பள்ளியில் நிந்றும்
புறப்பட்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டிலெ ஈத்தங்காட்டு வெளியில் அப்பய்யனும்

2 வந்து பாளையஞ் செய்து இருக்கயில் பறைஞ்ஞு அயப்பான் நாள்த் தாம-
தம் வரிக கொண்டு வித்தும் நெல்லும் பட கிடத்தி இட்டு வந்தம
கொண்டு

3 நாட்டார் ஆச்சிராமத்து வந்து கூடித் தங்கடம் பறகயில் எண்ணூற்றுத்
தொண்ணூற்று எட்டாமாண்டு பிசானம் மெல்வாரவும் உபையம் ப-
லிசையும்

4 மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் பெரும்பற்று உள்பட
கொட்டை ஒன்றுக்குக் கால் கொட்டை நெல் கழிக்கயில்

5 கொட்டைக்கு முக்கால் வீதம் அளக்குமாறும் சொல்லி எண்ணூற்றுத்-
தொண்ணூற்று எட்டாமாண்டு ஆனிமாதம் இருபத்தஞ்சாந் தெயதி

6 கல்ப்பித்தமைக்கு வடவகை தென்மீதி நாடமைந்த பெர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதி விடு எந்து திருவுளமாய நீட்டு.

Translation.

On the 25th of the month of Āṇi in the year 898, this is the order remitting the tax of paddy under the heads *mēlvāram* and *ubhaiyam-paliśa* on account of the visits of the Nāyaka troops under Appayyaṉ.

While the Nāyaka troops and cavalry under Appayaṉ starting from Trichinopoly were encamped on the plain called Īttaṅkāḍu in Nāñji-nāḍu, as considerable plunder of paddy and seed-grain occurred, owing to the delay of some days in sending them word, when the *nāṭṭārs* having met at Āśrāmam, complained about this trouble, it was ordered (by the king) that for the *piśānam* crop of the year 898, ¼ *kōṭṭai* of paddy shall be remitted on every *kōṭṭai* of *mēlvāram* and *ubhaiyam-paliśa* income on all temple (*śaṅkētam*) and *perumbaṟṟu* lands in the territory from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi.

Thus, as it was decided that for every *kōṭṭai*, only three-fourths shall be measured, this was the order which was issued to the southern portion of the northern sub-division (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 25th day of Āṇi in the (Kollam) year 898.

No. 78—Kadukkarai olai-document of Kollam 898.

1 ௮௱௯௰௮ ௵ காத்திகை ௴ ௰௯உ இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடிவரைக்கும் கடுக்கரையூர் திருவாசலிலெ கூடியிருந்து ஒப்புரவு மொழி ஓலை எழுதிகொண்டபடி [।*] முன் ௯௰௬ ௵ பசான வரைக்கு

2 நாட்டிலெ வய்யா வரியும் செய்யா முறையும் நடத்திவிச்ச படியினாலெ, ௯௰௭ ௵ காரும் பசானமும் தரிசு பொட்டு இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மலைக்கு கிளக்கெ குடி வாங்கிப் பொனபடியி-

3 னாலெ, தம்பிரான் கல்ப்பிச்சு பொற்றியும் பண்டாலையும் தொருவ சனங்களும் எல்லாவரும் கூடிப், பூதப்பாண்டிக்கு தம்பிரான் எழுந்தருளி, இரண்டு வகை நாட்டையும் வருத்திவிச்சு, ௯௰௭ ௵ ப-

4 சான வரைக்குள்ள தங்கடமும் தீத்து, எறபெருக்கு நீட்டுத்தந்து, வெங்கலமுரசும் கொம்பும் வெள்ளி கெட்டின பொந்தியும் கல்பிச்சுத் தந்து, ௯௰௭ ௵ கார் முதல் அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பண்டு முன்னுள்

5 நடந்தபடிக்கு பற்றிக்கொண்டு வைய்யா வரியும் செய்யா முறையும் கொட்டைப்பணமும் மாத்தால்பணமும் நாட்டிலெ வைக்கிறதில்லை யென்று கல்பிச்சு, நீட்டும் தந்து, பண்டு முன்னுள் நாட்டுத்தானமா-

6 க உள்ள சொதிக்கயும் சொதிச்சு நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்துகொள்ளும்படிக்கு கல்பிக்கையில், அந்தப்படிக்கு நாட்டுக்குப் பிளைச்ச பெர்கள் நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம் சொதிச்சபடியினாலெ, தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு

7 பிடாரகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு வெட்டித்தள்ளிவிச்சபடியினாலெயும், ௯௰௭ ௵ கார் பசானம் அஞ்சாலியும மெல்வாரமும் கண்டுழவு பாட்டமும் தொருவ சனங்களும் சிவசயில முதலியாரும் குதிரையும் இராணுவும் வந்து நெருங்கி வெண்டினபடியினாலெயும், தம்பிரான் கல்ப்பிச்சு மெலதிக மாத்தால் முப்பதுபணம் தெய்வதானம்

8 பிரமதானம் கண்டுழவும தரிசுகளும் உள்பட பணம் வாங்கினபடியினு-
லெயும், ௯௰௮ ஆடு கார் பயிரிடுகையில் வடவகை தென்வீதி யெ-
ல்லாம் தீஞ்சு கரிஞ்சு போகையில் அரைவிளைச்சல் கால்விளைச்சல்
உள்ளதுக்கு

9 கொட்டைக்கு நூற்றிருபத்தஞ்சு பணம் நாட்டுத்தானத்தை அளிச்சு த-
னித்தனியெ அடிச்சு வாங்கினபடியினுலெயும், மதிகண்ட வகைக்கு
பாதிவாரம் என்றதுக்கு இருவாரம் கொண்டு போனபடியினுலெயும்,

10 நல்லூர் வில்லிபற்று வகைக்கு தரிசுக்கு நெல்லு வாங்கின படியினுலெ-
யும், சிறிய கண்டுழவு வகையில் அனுமகெதன நல்லூர் வீரவநல்லூ-
ரில் பாட்டம் அளந்து சிட்டியும் தந்திருக்க மறுபடி துரக்காறருக்கு
சிட்டியும் எழுதி-

11 ப் பாட்டம் வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சுக் கொட்டை-
ப்பணத்துக்கும் மாத்தால் பணத்துக்கும் எழுதிவிச்ச முறியளுக்கு
வைச்சுதென்று கருவுகாத்துப் பிள்ளைமார் கணக்கிலும் எழுதிவிச்சு
நீட்டும் தந்தபடி-

12 க்கு நில்லாமல் தளவாய் ஆள் விட்டு முறிவகைக்குப் பணம் வெண்டினப-
டியினுலெயும், உற்பத்தி வைச்சுதென்று எழுதினதை திரிய எடுத்து
உழுதுகொண்ட படியிலெயும், காடு களை புஞ்செ பயிரிட்டதுக்கு கட-
மைப்பணம் அடைச்சு

13 இருக்கப் பாட்டம் பணம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், ௯௰௮ ஆடு கா-
ர் புஞ்சை பயிருக்கு நாலிலொன்று வாரம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினு-
லெயும், நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் அடைக்கச் சொல்லி உபத்தி-
ரிச்சு நெல்லும் வித்தும்

14 புளுங்கலும் அரிசியும் பொன் வெள்ளியும் வெங்கலபாத்திரமும் சீலையு-
ளும் உழவெற்றி கவர்ச்சை யிட்டுக் கொண்டு போனபடியினுலெயும்,
எழு மளவராயமாரையும் கற்குளத்துக்கு தம்பிரான் திருமுன்னெ
அனுப்பித் திருமனதிலும்

15 அறிவிச்சும் பொற்றி பண்டாலை தொருவசனங்க ளெல்லாவர் கூடவும்
சொல்லியும் மறுபடி நல்லது கல்ப்பிசசு உபத்திரம் நிறுத்தித் தாரா-
த படியினுலெயும், முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் குதிரையும் இராணுவும் தெரிச-
ரங்கொப்பிலெ வந்திருந்து

16 பதிநாலு கொட்டைவாசலும் அடைச்சு மூன்று நாளாயி பசுக்கள் மாடு-
கள் தண்ணீர் குடியாமல் அடைச்சு பெண்ணும் பிள்ளை தண்ணீர்
கொர வந்த விடத்திலெ குடங்களையும் அடிச் சுடைச்சு

17 நெல்லும் விற்றும் வாரின படியினுலெயும், இரண்டு வகை நாடும் கடுக்க-
ரையிலெ குடிவாங்கி யிருக்க முத்துப்பிள்ளையும சிற்றம்பலம்பண்டார-
மும் நூறு செவுகருமாயி வந்து எங்களை வளைஞ்சு பிடி-

18 ச்சு அடிச்சு புணம் வைப்பிக்க வருகையில் நாங்கள் பயந்து மலை களை
யெறிப் போனபடியினுலெ, கடுக்கரையூரில் நாலு கொட்டைவாச-
லும் அடைச்சுக்கொண்டு ஊரொக்க கொள்ளை-

19 க் கிடுகையில், நாங்க ளெல்லாரும் அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் கீள்பால் செம்ப-
கராமன் புதூர் கல்மடத்திலெ வந்திருந்து கூடி வைச்ச மொளியா-
வது[||*] நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் வெச்சுக் குடுக்கிற தில்லெ-

20 யென்றும் ௬௰௮ ௵ பசானமுதல் பண்டு முன்னுள் நடந்தபடிக் குள்ள அ-ஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமும் குடுத்து வருகிறதெ அல்லாமல் கொட்டை-ப்பணமாகிலும் தெய்வதானம் பிரமதானம் அடக்கியும் அஞ்சாலி

21 மெல்வாரம் அடக்கியும் மாத்தால்பணம் வைக்க கல்ப்பிச்சால் நாம் இர-ண்டுவகை நாடும் கூடி ௬௰௮ ௵ பசான முதலுக்கு இட்ட வெள்ளா-மை அளிஞ்சு பொனாலும் நாம் கூடியும குடிவாங்கியும் நாட்டுத்தான-

22 மாக பிலத்துக் கொள்வொமாகவும்[||*] அப்படியிருக்க நம்முடைய நா-ட்டிலெ ஒரு பிடாகைக்காற ராலுைம் ஒரு ஊர்க்காறராலுைம் ஒரு அம்பலக்காறராலுைம் பத்துப்பணம கைக்கூலி வாங்கி யாகி-

23 லும் உள்மொழி குடுத்தாகிலும் வைய்யாவரி செய்யாமுறைக்கு வரி கொ-டுத்தால் வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும் சொதிச்சு கொள்வொமாகவும் [||*] நாம் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமாம்படியெ கூடியும் கூடிவொங்கி-யும் யிருக்கிறபொது

24 முன் னாட்டிலெ வந்து அம்பலக்காறரை வெட்டினதுக்கும் வெட்டி கொ-ன்றதுக்கும் தானம் வருத்திகொள்வொமாகவும்[|*] நம்முடைய நா-ட்டிலை யிருந்து அம்பலக்காறராயிட்டுள்ள பெர்கெள் விதுரம் பரி-க்க ஒண்ணாது என்றும் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமா யிருக்கெ

25 இராசகூரம் ஒரு பிடாகயிலெ ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலெ ஆகிலும் ஒருத்தன் வீட்டிலெ ஆகிலும் நெல்லும் விற்றும் வாரிச் செதப் பட்டால் முதல் பொதுவிலெ யிருந்து முதல் வெச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும்[|*] இரண்டு நாடும் குடி

26 வாங்கிப்பொனால் இயாதா மொருத்தராலுைம் ஊருக்குள்ளெ யிருந்து ம-ணியக்காறன் கையிலெ அகப்பட்டுப் பணம் வைய்த்தால் அவனுக்குக்-கருமச்செதமும் வைச்சுக் குடாமல் நாட்டுச் சொத்தியமும் விட்டொ-டும் குடியொடு-

27 ம் சொதிச்சுப் பொடுவொமாகவும்[|*] முன் நாட்டுத்தானமாக சொதி-ச்சதுக்கு மூனாம் பிடாகையிலும் பிடாகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு தம்பி-ரான் கல்பிச்சு வெட்டித் தள்ளிவிச்சதுக்கு நாட்டுத்தானமாக தம்பு-ரான் திருமனதிலும் அறிவி-

28 ச்சு செதப்பட்ட முதல் வைப்பிச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும் [|*] கொவிக்க-விலெ யிருந்து வைச்சுத் தாராவிட்டால் நம்முடய நாட்டிலெ யிருந்து முதல் வைச்சுக் குடுப்பொமாகவும்[|*] நாட்டிலெ யிருந்து மொழிகு-டுத்துப் பணம் வையாமலி-

29 ருக்க இராசகாத்தொடெ கூடி இரண்டு நாட்டிலெ யிருக்கிற பெர் யா-தா மொருத்தராலுைம் மணியம செய்து கணக் கெழுதி வச்சுத் தன்-மடை சொன்னதெ உண்டானாலும் அவனெ வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொ-டும் சொதிச்சு பொடுவொ-

30 மாகவும்[|*] பண்டு முன்னுள் நடந்த தனைத்துமபடிக்கு தம்பிரான் கல்பி-ச்சு நீட்டும் தந்திருக்க நாட்டிலெ யிருந்து மொழியும் வைச்சிருக்க நா-ட்டிலெ யாதா மொருத்தர் ஆயித மெடுத்து செவிக்கிற பெரை வீ-ட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும்

31 சொதிச்சுப் பொடுவொ மாகவும்[|*] அவனவன் சாதிமுறை தப்பி நட-க்கிற பெரையும் சொதிச்சுப் பொடுவொமாகவும்[|*] இரண்டு நா-ட்டிலெயும் ஒரு ஊரிலெ பாளயம் செய்திருந்ததெ உண்டானல் தம்பி-ரான் திருமனதிலெ அறிவிச்சும்

32 கூடச் சொல்லியும் நாமும் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பாளயம் செய்யாமல் விலக்கிட்டு கொள்வொமாகவும்[1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு நாட்டுத்தாணமாக நடந்துகொள்வொமாகவும் [1*] இதுக்கு யாதாமொருத்தர் நாட்டுத்தானத்தை அழிச்சு அகிதம்

33 நிருவிச்ச பெர்கள் கெங்கைக்கரையில் காராம்பசுவை கொன்ற தொஷத்திலெ பொவாராகவும் நாட்டுக்காரியத்தைத் தானவாக நடத்தின பெர்கள் கெங்கைக்கரையிலெ காராம்பசுவைத் தானம் செய்த பலத்தை அடைவாராகவும்[11*]

34 இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்து கொள்கிறதுக்கு சுவாமி தாணுமாலயபெருமாள பெரிலாணை பூதலிங்கத்து பெரிலாணை தப்பாது[1*] இந்தப்படிக்கு ஒப்புரவு மொழிமாறு ஓலை எழுதிக்கொண்டோம் வடவகை தென்மீதி நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகபெருமாள் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 16th day of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 898, the residents of the two divisions (north and south) between Maṅgalam and Maṇakkuḍi, having met at Kaḍukkaraiyūr, the following resolution of union was written:—

As on account of the heavy taxes and the cruel treatment to which we were subjected till the *piśāṇam*-harvest of 895 M. E. (1720 A. D.), we of both the divisions, were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during both the *kār* and *piśāṇam* seasons in 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains, the king (*tambirāṉ*) together with the Pōttimārs, Paṇḍālas and the members of the *svarūpam*, was pleased to camp at Bhūtappāṇḍi, and summoning the people of both the divisions before him, redressed all their grievances till the *piśāṇam*-crop of 96 (Kollam 896 = 1721 A. D.), gave a royal writ to all of us (to that effect), and as a mark of special favour presented us with a brass-drum, a horn, and a *pondi* (sword or club inlaid with silver). Another writ was also issued cancelling all coersive taxes such as *kōṭṭaip-paṇam*, and *māttāl-paṇam* and acts of petty tyranny in the land, and authorising the levy of only the original imposts of *añjāli* and *mēlvāram*, and permitting the assembly of the *nāṭṭārs* of Nāñji-nāḍu to continue to exercise the original prerogatives that had been in their enjoyment from a long time.

Accordingly, when the assembly held an enquiry against those who had infringed its laws, as the sovereign ordered the destruction of two residents in each sub-division (*piḍāgai*) as a punishment on us;

as the members of the svarūpam and Śivaśaila-Mudaliar came with their cavalry and troops and pressed us hard for the payment of *añjāli*, *mēlvāram* and *kaṇḍuḷavu-pāṭṭam* on the *kār* and *piśāṇam* crops of 97 (Kollam 897);

as the sovereign himself levied (a tax of) thirty *paṇam* per *mā* on all lands including *dēvaḍānam*, *brahmadānam*, *kaṇḍuḷavu* and even on waste lands;

as another tax of 125 *paṇam* per *kōṭṭai* was also collected in opposition to the decisions of the assemblies from the poor ryots on even the half and quarter yields of the *kār*-crop of Kollam 898, though it was a complete failure in both the northern and southern divisions;

as they realised double the amount of *vāram* on lands which, according to the yield, could have been assessed at only half;

as a similar exaction in paddy was levied on the uncultivated lands in Nallūr and Villipaṟṟu;

as the officials of the king unjustly demanded *pāṭṭam* on all the small *kaṇḍuḷavu* lands in the villages of Anumakētananallūr and Vīravanallūr, even though the sums had already been remitted and receipts obtained;

as the Daḷavāy sent his men to dun the immediate payment of *māṭṭāl-paṇam*, *kōṭṭaip-paṇam* and other imposts on the deeds which the king had already declared by entries in the accounts to be void;

as the government appropriated to itself those lands which had been entered (in the registers) as having been cultivated by the ryots;

as *pāṭṭam*-rent was demanded on *kāḍu*, *karai* and dry lands, on which the usual taxes had already been paid;

as one-fourth share was demanded on the *kār*-crop of 98 (Kollam 898);

as *kōṭṭaip-paṇam* was demanded unjustly on even the seed-bed lands, and as paddy-grain stored in houses, boiled rice, raw rice, gold, silver, bronze vessels, clothes etc. (of these ryots) were all confiscated (for non-payment of this tax);

as no measures were taken to redress these insufferable grievances in any way, even though seven *maḷavarāyamār* had been deputed to represent these facts to the king at Kalkuḷam, and the Pōttimars, Paṇḍālas and the members of the *Svarūpam* had also been informed of these troubles;

as Muttu-Piḷḷai had attacked Darśanamkōppu with his horses and troops, blockading all the fourteen entrances (into it), making the cows and cattle to starve there for three days without drinking water, breaking the pots of the poor women who came to draw water, and looting the paddy and other grain stored in the houses;

and lastly, when the inhabitants in a body had migrated to Kaḍukkara, Muttu-Piḷḷai and Chiṟṟambalam-Paṇḍāram at the head of a hundred soldiers had surrounded us there demanding the payment of our dues on the spot, as we had to flee up the hills in terror when the four entrances of Kaḍukkara were closed and the whole village was plundered:—

all of us (*nāṭṭārs*) having assembled in the stone-maṇḍapa at Chempaka-rāmaṉ-puduvūr to the east of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram have passed these resolutions—namely,—

that the tax called *kōṭṭaip-paṇam* shall not be paid on the seed-bed lands;

that we shall bind ourselves to pay only the *añjāli* and the *mēlvāram* taxes, which had been existing previously on all our lands;

and that if *kōṭṭaip-paṇam* and *māttāl-paṇam* be ordered to be paid on *dēvadānam* and *brahmadānam* lands over and above the usual *añjāli* and *mēlvāram* taxes, we (of both the *nāḍus*) will be prepared to meet in a body and resist the imposition by a united stand, and migrate to another place, even leaving the (partly) cultivated *piśānam*-crop (behind).

While (matters are) thus, if any one—be he a *piḍāgaikkāraṉ*, or *ūrkkāraṉ*,—were to betray the proceedings of this assembly, by receiving some bribes (say, ten

paṇam) or submit to the payment of the unjust taxes, he shall be answerable both in person and with his property.

When we have migrated elsewhere insisting on our rights and privileges, we will demand fit retribution for the high-handed death of the *ambalakkārar* (village-chiefs).

When we are thus in power, no *ambalakkāraṉ* from our division, shall be allowed to be employed as revenue-farmers;

and if the government should cause any loss by confiscation from any *piḍāgai*, village or the house of any individual, this shall be made good from our common funds.

If in the period of our succession, any one happens to be found in the village and is caught by the officials, we will not compensate for his losses; but he shall be answerable to us along with his effects and relations.

We will demand reparation for the damages of the two houses in each of the three sub-divisions, which was unjustly sanctioned by the king, when formerly we (the assembly) had exercised our legitimate powers, and that, if the government does not make good the loss in this matter, we shall meet it from our common funds.

When we have sworn in the assembly not to make certain payments, if any person from the two divisions (of Nāñji-nāḍu) serve as an accountant under the government, write up accounts, or compromise our affairs, he shall be made to suffer by forfeiting his property.

Thus, while according to these happenings, the government have granted (us) an order (respecting our prerogatives), and we have also decided among ourselves in full council, if anybody take up arms and serve on the other side, he shall pay a similar penalty and he who transgresses the laws and customs of his respective class, shall be also similarly punished.

If the king's army be encamped in our territory, we shall represent the matter before the king, and will by joint effort by preparing to emigrate elsewhere, see that the military camps are removed.

Thus shall we conduct ourselves according to the standing rules of our assembly.

If any person attempt to dissolve our union, he shall incur the accursed sin of having butchered a cow on the banks of the Ganges; on the other hand, the person who tries to consolidate our union shall reap the supreme benefit of having given a cow to a brahman on the banks of the same river (Ganges).

Promising to act thus unsweringly so as to preserve the rights of our assembly, we swear in (the names of) the gods Tāṇumālaiya-perumāḷ and Bhūtaliṅgam.

Thus for having written this unshakeable bond of union, on behalf of the inhabitants of the north and south divisions (of Nāñji-nāḍu), this is the signature of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ.

No. 79—Olai-document of Kollam 899.

1 கிழக்கு நின்னும் இராணுவுங் குதிரையும் வந்து நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் இத்தங்காட்டு வெளியில் பாளயம் செயிது சுசீந்திரத்து ஆற்றினு கிழக்கு வழுக்கம்பாறையிலும்

2 பாளையமுஞ் செய்து இரணியசிங்கநல்லூரில் வீரவிளையில் பாளையமுஞ் செயிது இருந்து நாஞ்சிநாட்டிலெ மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் உள்பட கருமக்கெடு வருக-

3 கொண்டு யெண்ணூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு பசானம் மெலவாரம் பாட்ட உபையம் பலிசை உள்பட்ட வகைக்கு கொட்டைக்கு கால் களிவாகவும் கற்ப்பித்தமைக்கு

4 யெண்ணூற்றித் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு

5 ஆனிமாதம் இருபதாந் தெயிதி கற்ப்பித்தமைக்கு வடவகை தென்வதி நாடமைந்த பெர்க்கு நீட்டு

6 திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு [॥*]

Translation.

As, on account of the troops and cavalry from the east which were encamped on the plains near Ittaṅkāḍu in Nāñji-nāḍu, near Vaḻukkampāṟai to the east of the river at Suchindram, and on the Vīraviḷai in Iraṇiyaśiṅganallūr, the *saṅkētam* lands of temples etc. have suffered damages, and we, (the king), have remitted one-fourth on every *kōṭṭai* (of tax) of *mēlvāram, pāṭṭam, ubhayam-paliśai* on the *paśānam* crops of the year eight hundred and ninety-nine, this is the order which we were pleased to issue to those of the north and southern divisions (of Nāñji-nāḍu) on the 20th day of the month of the Kollam year 899.

No. 80—Olai document of Kollam 900.

1 கிழக்கு நிந்நும் அரமனையார் வகை இராணுவும் குதிரையும் கொண்டு அழகப்பன் முதலி கூா ௯௱ தை மீ இருபத்திரண்டாந் தெயிதி முதல் வைகாசி மீ ௨௰௫ வரை

2 திருப்பதிசாரத்திலும் பெருவிளையிலும் தெருசாங்கொப்பிலும் புலியூர்க்குறிச்சி பிலாவிளையிலும் இரணியசிங்கநல்லூர் கிழக்கெ பிறத்து சாலியன்விளையிலும் பாளயம்

3 செயிது படை கொருக் கொண்டும் நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை படை வருக கொண்டு முன்னுள் எண்ணூற்று தொண்ணூறு எழாமாண்டு.

4 கார் முதல் தொள்ளாயிரமாண்டு கார் வரை பெரும்பற்று தழிசங்கெதம் உன்ப்பட்ட வகைக்கு மெல்வாரம் பாட்டம் உபயம் பலிசை அளந்து நீக்கி ஒள்ள குடிச்சிதை

5 எற்ப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் . . . . . டுத்து ஆழாயிரமாண்டு பிசாணம் தொருப சனங்கள் தளிச்சங்கெதம உள்ப்பட்ட வகையில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரைக்கு ஒள்ள வகையில் (stops here).

Translation.

As Aḷagappaṉ Mudali was encamped with the royal troops and cavalry of Aramaṉaiyār (Nāyaka kings) from the 22nd of Tai to the 25th of Vaikāśi at

Peruviḷai in Tiruppatisāram, Darsanamkōppu, Pilāviḷai in Puliyūrkuṟichchi and the eastern Śāliyaṉviḷai at Iraṇiyaśiṅganallūr, and as there was fighting in Nāñjināḍu from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi, the balance of taxes *mēlvāram*, *pāṭṭam*, *ubhaiyam paliśai* which was not measured from the *kār* (harvest) of the year 897 to the *kār* (harvest) of the year 900 on the *perumpaṟṟu* and *taḷi-saṅkētam* lands, was remitted; and from the *piśanam* season of 900, the *saṅkētam* lands from Maṅgalam to Maṇakkuḍi . . . . . .

No. 81—A Telugu copper-plate of Queen Minakshi: Saka 1660.

The subjoined Telugu inscription is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate measuring 8″×5½″, with a circular projection 1″ in diameter in the middle of the top. The document is in the possession of a Muhammadan family residing at Trivandrum. It was kindly sent for my examination by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., Hony. Magistrate of Trivandrum, and I edit it with the help of the ink-impressions, that were prepared under my supervision.

The record which is dated on a Friday, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month in the Śaka year 1660, Kāḷayukti, whose English equivalent is, according to the *Indian Ephemeris*, A. D. 1739, Friday, February 9, ·47, ·27, belongs to the time of the dowager-queen Mīnākshī of Madura. It registers the royal gift to a Muhammadan fakir named Imām-Sāhib of some lands in Śīvalappēri *alias* Muddu-Veṅkaṭalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram in the Tinnevelly District, which, according to this record, was comprised in the Tiruvaḍi-rājya (or the Travancore dominion), while the latter is said to have formed part of the Trichinopoly-Madura-samsthānam, which has been bestowed on the Nāyaka dynasty by the Vijayanagara kings.

The preamble of the inscription gives the following meagre genealogy, contenting itself with the preliminary mention of the name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, the founder of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, and those of the husband of the queen-donor and of his two immediate predecessors on the Madura throne.

Viśvanātha-Nāyaka of the Kāśyapa-gōtra.
|
Chokkanātha-Nāyaka
|
Raṅgakṛishṇa-Mudduvīrappa
|
Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha
|
His Queen
Mīnākshammagāru.

A summary of the short reign of this queen, the last representative of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, will be of interest.

Soon after the death of Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha (A. D. 1706-32) in February 1732,[1] his eldest queen Mīnākshī assumed the reigns of government

1 *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924) p. 230.

with the help of her brother Veṅkaṭaperumāḷ-Nāyaka[1]; and, being childless, she adopted Vijayakumāra, a member of the younger branch of the royal family. But Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala, the natural father of the adopted prince, claimed the right to the throne to himself; and this unfortunate dissension between these two rival claimants afforded a good opportunity to the Nawab of Arcot, who had been waiting for some plea for a southern invasion. Constituting himself as an arbitrator and seconded by Chandā-Sahib, Safdar Ali Khan, the son of the Arcot Nawab, marched on Trichinopoly and decided in favour of Bhaṅgāru's title to the succession. But a heavy bribe of a crore of rupees offered by Mīnākshī bought off to her side the wily Chandā-Sahib, who had been left behind to enforce the Nawab's orders; and for the time being, the queen was left in undisputed possession of Trichinopoly. Soon after in about A. D. 1736, Chandā-Sahib returned to Trichinopoly and posing as the queen's partisan defeated Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala at Ammaiṉāyakkanūr. Taking advantage of her helpless condition, he also abrogated all the power to himself and imprisoned her in her own palace. The unfortunate queen realising, when too late, the sequel of her own folly in having quarelled with her kinsman and in having trusted the Muhammadan adventurer, took poison and died in her prison.[2] As Bhaṅgāru was, sometime later in about A. D. 1746, presumably poisoned by Anvar-ud-din, and as his son Vijayakumāra was hounded from place to place and had to find an ignominous asylum with some loyal polegars, the Madura dynasty may fitly be considered to have terminated with Queen Mīnākshī.

The date of the queen's death is mentioned to have been A. D. 1736[3], while Mr. Rangachari says it was A. D. 1737[4]. But the present record, if it is genuine, shows that queen Mīnākshi may have been living as late as the 9th February 1739, which is nearly three months prior to the date of her demise, as given in the *Maduraittalavaraḷāṟu.*[5]

Although some of her predecessors and some Ramnad Sētupatis had made similar[6] endowments to Muhammadan religious institutions, Mīnākshi's donation to the fakir, Imām-Sāhib, has the additional significance of indicating her complete subserviance to Chandā-Sāhib and the influence weilded by him in her court.

Śīvallappēri *alias* Muddu-Veṅkaṭalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram, wherein the lands were situated, is a village in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevelly District, and must have in those days formed part of the Travancore dominions. The Travancore kings had extended their kingdom to the other side of the Ghats in the first half of the 7th century of the Kollam era, and though they were dispossessed of these tracts by Mafuz-Khan and others, the district of Kaḷakkāḍ was finally ceded to them in A. D. 1760 by the Nawab, through the intervention of the East India Company.[7] Gōvindappayya, the father of the Secretary

1 Mr. Rangachari mentions two brothers Vēṅkaṭa Nāyaka and Perumal Nāyaka—*Ind. Ant.* 1917, p

2 For a fuller account of this queen's chequered reign, Nelson's *Madura Manual*, *Ind. Ant.*, for 1917 and the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (R. S. Ayyar) may be referred to.

3 *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 234, n. 3.

4 *Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 213.

5 *Māduraittala-varalāṟu*, p. 6.

6 *cf. Sewell's Antiquities*, Vol. II.

7 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 379.

(*rāyasam*) Śivarāmayya who wrote this document, was one of the two generals of Queen Mīnākshī who took part in the battle of Ammaīyanāyakkanūr in which Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala was defeated.

Although the Vijayanagara dynasty, hemmed in as she was by her enemies and recalcitrant viceroys on all sides and dismembered to a fragment of her original greatness by various vicissitudes of fortune, had disappeared from South Indian politics as an imperial power with the death of the last sovereign Śrīraṅga III in about A. D. 1676,[1] it is noteworthy that as late as A. D. 1739, the Madura queen acknowledges the suzerainty of a king called Śrīrāyala-dēvunivāru. Two other copper-plate documents of this queen dated in Ś. 1654 and Ś. 1655 refer to a Veṅkaṭadēvarāya as the overlord, while two more records of a chief called Kāmākshi-Nāyaka, dated in Ś 1661 and Ś. 1663, mention the names of Rāmarāya and Śrīraṅgarāya, as the suzerains at the time. It is therefore possible that the Śrīrāyala-dēvunivāru is a scribe's error for Śrī [rāma]rāyala-dēvunivāru, the medial 'rāma' having been omitted by mistake.

The subjoined table gives the names of the Madura Nāyakas of the 17th century of the Śaka era and those of their suzerians, which have been mentioned in their copper-plate documents. As the Madura Nāyakas, who were orginally the Viceroys of the Vijayanagara kings in their far southern dominions, had asserted their independence by the time the imperial dynasty came to a close with the death in about A. D. 1678, of Śrīraṅga III, the last of the Vijayanagara kings of the Karṇāṭa line, the fact; that the later Nāyaka rulers still continued to refer to some suzerains, has no more significance than the perpetuation of a time-honoured but superseded political terminology. But as these quotations of the names of the overlords are consistent, it looks likely that some powerless scions of the family continued to nurse their atrophied greatness in some corner, and that the Madura Nāyakas continued their expressions of verbal loyalty to these innocuous representatives of the once powerful imperial house.

Sewell No.	Śaka date.	Madura Nāyakas and Chiefs.	Vijayanagara suzerians.	Remarks.
20	1600	Muttu-Aḷakādri	Śrīraṅga III or IV?	
168	1622	Do.	Narasimha (Ghanagiri)	The date Ś. 1622 is wrong, as the Nāyaka had died in A. D. 1689.
53	1614	Maṅgammāḷ	Śrīraṅga (Kanakagiri)	Vijayaraṅga was prince at Madura at the time.
...	1623	Do.	Veṅkaṭadēva (Ghanagiri)	No. 3 of 1911 (M. E. R.)
110	1628	Do	Do. (Ghanagiri)	....

[1] *Introduction to the History of Nāyaks*, p. 27.

Sewell No.	Saka date.	Madura Nāyakas and chiefs.	Vijayanagara suzerians.	Remarks.
...	1630	Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha	Do. (Ghanagiri)	No. 4 of 1915 (M. E. R.)
50	1638	Do.	Śrīraṅga (Ghanagiri)	....
109	1646	Do.	Mahādēvarāya (Ghanagiri)	The proper name of the king appears to have been omitted.
44	1649	Do.	Vēṅkaṭadēva (Kannakāma) Ghanagiri?	Venkaṭavēma (Sewell, II-44) is evidently a misreading for Venkaṭadēva.
33	1651	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	...
49	1654	Mīnākshī	Vēṅkaṭadēva (Ghanagiri)	...
...	1655	Do.	Do. (Ghanagiri-nagara)	Sewell, I. 267. No. 71. (Sewell II. 9) mentions a chief Vēṅkaṭapati (A. D. 1733).
...	1660	Do.	Śrīrāyadēva	The present record.
43	1661	Kāmākshi-Nāyaka	Rāmarāya	...
1	1663	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	...
60	1665	Do.	Vēṅkaṭarāya	...
48	1713	Vijaya-Vēṅkṭāchala Reḍḍi	Vēṅkṭapatidēva (Ghanagiri)	...
45	1714	Do.	Do.	...
46	1715	Do.	Do.	...

Text.[1]

First side.

1 Svasti śrī [1*] Vijayābhyudaya Śālivāhana Śakābdam-
2 bbulu 1660 Prabhavādi samvvatsarambbulu 51[2] mī-
3 daṭan-agunēṭi Kāḷayukti-nāma samvvatsaram Mā-
4 kha śu[3] 12 Śukravāramunnu Punarvasū-nakshatramu-

1 From ink-impressions prepared under my supervision.
2 Engraved below the line.
3 A letter like *da* is engraved below *śu*, so as to make *śuddha*.

5 nnu śubhayōga śubhakaraṇamunnu kūḍina śubha-dina-
6 maṁddu śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtra-jātulaina Madhura-sam-
7 sthānādhipati Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavāri vaṁśamaṁ-
8 ddu jātulaina Chokkanātha-Nāyanaiyyavāri pautru-
8 laina Raṅggakṛishṇa-Muddu-Vīrappa-Nāyanayyavāri pu-
10 trulaina Vijayaraṅgga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāri
11 paṭṭamahishi aina Srī-Mīnākshammagāru pakiri-guruvu-
12 lu Imām-[1]Śāyibuku ichchina tāmra-śāsana kra-
13 mam etlannanu [l*] Śrīman Mahāmamḍḍalēśvara mahā-
14 rāja rājamakuṭōpalālita akhaṁḍḍita-sām-
15 mrājya-lakshmī-nivāsa-bhūtadēva-mahārājulaina
16 Śrīrāyalu-dēvunivāru māku pāliṁchchi ichchi-
17 na Tiruchanāpallē-Madhura-samsthānamaṁddu Tiru-
18 vaḍi-rājyāna Tinnevellitō chērina Śīvallappē-
19 riki pratināmamaina Muddu-Vēṅkkaṭalakshmīpati-bhū-
20 pāla-samudramulō Peddacheruvu kiṁdda tūrupu
21 maḍava[2] nīḷḷu pārē tūrupu-keṭla[3] mūḍō-kaṇṇ[ā][4]-
22 rulōnu kaṭla śēkharamugānu kaiyyalu 9 ṭki[5]
23 vittanam kōṭa 1-nni Tinnevelli-pyāṭa [6]sūkamu-
24 lō dinam 1-ki telupulu ki 2 lekha aḍittuṁ-
25 ḍḍu rūkalunnu i-raṁḍḍu mānyamulunnu pa-
26 kiri-guruvulu Imām-Sāyibuku śudha sarva-
27 mānyamugā kaṭṭaḍa jēśi tāmmra-śāsana[mu-
28 nnu] vrāśi ichchināramu [l*] ganka ī [7]koṭaḍu [vi-
29 ttana]mulō kaligina nidhi-nikshēpa-[8]jala-taru-

Second side.

30 pāshāṇ-ākshiny-āgāmya-siddha-sādhyamu-
31 laniyēdi ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-svāmyamula sa-
32 hitamugānu putra-[9]pautra-pāramparyamugānu
33 Śrī Mīnākshamma vrālu[10]
34 āchandrārka-sthāyigānu dānādi vini-
35 maya-vikrayamulakunnu yōgyamugā-
36 nu ī-bhūmi kōṭēḍu vittanamunakunnu ī-
37 aḍittumḍḍu dinam ī-ki telpulu ki 2 kinni ī-
38 dē tāmmra-śāsanamugā kaṭṭi vumchchukoni

1 *Śa* looks like *na*.

2 This occurs in the Tamil portion as *kīḻ-maḍai-ppachchalil*.

3 Read *katla* as in other places.

4 *ṇṇā* looks like *ṇṇi*.

5 The Tamil portion gives கைத்தடி கி

6 Read *suṁkamu*.

7 Read *kōṭēḍu*.

8 *ja* is engraved below the line.

9 *pau* is not clear in the impression and looks like *pa*.

10 This is the sign-manual of the Queen.

39 sukhāna anubhavimchukonēdi [।*] yī dharmāna-
40 ku yevvamḍainān-ēmi vighātamu chēstē vā-
41 mdu brahma-kshatriya-vaiśya śūdra-varṇamu-
42 lalōni-vāmḍ-aitē Kāśilōnu brahma-hatya
43 gō-hatya mātru-pitru-hatya chēśina pāpā-
44 na pōgalavāmḍu [।*] turukavāmḍ-aitē murudāru[1] pā-
45 pāna pōgalavāmḍu [।*] ī-kramānaku rāyasam Gō-
46 vimddappayya komārumḍu Śivarāmayya vrāśina
47 tāmmra-śāsanamu [॥*] Dānapālanayōr-madhyē dānā-
48 chchrēyō-nupālanam dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti
49 pālanād-achyuṭam padam [॥*]
50 கைத்தடி சிவலப்பேரியில் கீளமடை-
51 ட்பாச்சலில் கீளகட்டளையில்[2] கூல் உஞ் செ
52 தடி கவ ச ௲ ௨ உரி- கூஞ் தடி ௨ வ ௨ உரி
53 சஞ் தடி ௨ ௨௨ வறு எவ கூளு நிஞ் தடி கூ
54 கூ௲ நிவ- கூஞ் தடி க ௨௨ ச ௲ உரி
55 ஆக கூல் தடி கூக்கு ௨௨ க ளு—

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

In the year 1660 of the glorious Śālivāhana Śaka era, which was the year Kāḷayukti, when 51 years had elapsed in the cycle of years beginning with Prabhava, on a Friday, the 12th of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month, which had Punarvasu-nakshatra, subha-yōga and subha-karaṇa— on this auspicious day, the following is the copper-plate record which we, śrī-Mīnākshammagaru, the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, son of Raṅgakṛishṇa-Muttuvīrappa-Nāyanayyavāru, and grandson of Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, born in the dynasty of Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavāru of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, the lord of Madhura-samsthāna, gave to *Pakiri-guruvu* Imām-Sāyibu.

In the Tiruchanāpallē-Mathura kingdom, which Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śrī-rāyadēvunivāru, the great king who is the abode of goddess Lakshmi of uninterrupted prosperity and who is (*i. e.* whose feet are) carassed by the diadems of kings, has been pleased to bestow on us, in Śīvalappēri *alias* Muddu-vēṅkaṭalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram in (the) Tinnevelli (Dt.) which is comprised in Tiruvaḍi-rājya, we gave as pure *sarvamānya* to *Pakiri-guruvulu* Imām-Sāyibu, the following two *mānyas*, namely,—

nine bits of land under the third sluice of the eastern *kaṭla* fed by the channel flowing on the eastern side of the Peddacheruvu (big tank), having a sowing capacity aggregating to 1 *kōṭa* of (paddy) seed and two [3]white *rūka* from the tolls[4]-collection(?) of the Tinnevelli-pēṭa and gave a written document on copper.

1 The meaning of this item of sin is not understood.

2 The sowing capacity of the nine pieces of land are given in symbols.

3 *Telupulu* appears to refer to some *silver* coins, specified by *rūkalu*.

4 *Sakumu* which appears to be a mistake for *Sunkamu*, refers to the 'tolls collection' of Tinnevelli-pētah, from which the fakir had to be paid *2 rūkalu* daily.

Therefore, for this land of 1 *kōṭa* (sowing capacity) together with the eight-fold objects of income, namely, treasure-trove, water-source, trees, rock, *akshiṇi*, *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, contained in it, and the *aḍittuṇḍu* of two white *ki*[1] (coins) per day which shall be enjoyed in the line of succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and sun exist, and which shall be eligible for disposal by mortgage or by sale,—this shall be considered as the copper-plate document.

If any one raise any impediment to this charity,—if he is of the caste brahma, kshatriya, vaiśya or śūdra, he shall incur the sin of having killed brahmans, cows and one's own mother and father; if he is a turukka (Muhammadan), he shall incur the *murudāru*[2] sin.

For this transaction, this is the copper-plate document written by the *rāyasam* (secretary) Śivarāmayya, son of Gōvindappayya.

Of the two acts— charity and its protection—the maintenance of a charity is more meritorious than the charity itself: he who bestows a gift obtains *svarga* (temporary beatitude), but he who protects a charity attains the very abode of Achyuta.

[ll. 50-55: Tamil portion]—The pieces of land in Śīvilappēri irrigable by the eastern sluice channel in the eastern *kaṭṭaḷai* and under the third sluice are:—

	marakkāl	*nāḻi*	*uri*
the second field (*śey*) one *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of	4	1	1
the third *śey*, two *taḍi* „ „	3	1	1
the fourth *śey*, two *taḍi* „ „	2	7	1½
the fifth *śey*, three *taḍi* „ „	6	5	.
the sixth *śey*, one *taḍi* „ „	4	.	1

in all, land nine *taḍis* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of one *kōṭṭai* and one *uḻakku* (of paddy-seed).

No. 82—Copper-plate grant of Mafuz-Khan: Saka 1666.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil and Hindustani characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, which is in the possession of a Muhammadan at Trivandrum. It was secured for me on a short loan by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., and from the ink-impressions prepared therefrom, the inscription is edited below. For the decipherment and translation of the Hindustani portion, I am indebted to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archæology of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

The record is dated in Śaka 1666, corresponding to A. D. 1745, March 29, and relates to the gift of the *kuttakai* rent from *Arripputtuṟai* in the Tinnevelly Dt. amounting to 78 *rēkhai-poṉ*, which was ordered to be paid over in

1 *ki* seems to be a contraction of the name of the coin.

2 This is not understood.

twelve monthly instalments of 6 *poṉ* and 5 *paṇam* per month to a Muhammadan priest Miyān Sheik Ahmad-Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyān Imām-Sāhib. At the time of the record, Tinnevelly has been described as

அயதராபாது சுபையுடனே சேர்ந்த ஆற்காடு திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிச் சமைஸ்-
தானத்தில் தெட்சிணராச்சியம் திருநெல்வேலி,

i. e., as the southern governorship of the Āṟkāḍu-Trichinopoly kingdom which was in its turn a *subah* (dependency) of the Hyderabad dominions.

The donor was Mahfūz Khān, son of Muhammad AnvardiKhān-Bādar, Nawab of Arcot (A. D 1744-49) and the Anvar-ud-din of Indian history who was killed in the battle of Āmbūr in A. D. 1749. Mahfūz-Khān was apparently the governor of Madura at that time, and his sphere of influence must have extended to the Tinnevelly district also. Four years later he was imprisoned by the French at Ambur, and, though the eldest son of his father, he left his claims to be superseded by the second son Muhammad-Āli, the ally of the English East India Company, and was content to continue as governor of Madura. His final revolt against the Nawab of Arcot and his successive defeats at the hands of the Travancore kings Bālamārttāṇḍa (1729-58) and Rāmavarman (1758-98) are events of later history, subsequent to the date of this copper-plate document.

Makkam is of course Mecca, the holy place of pilgrimage of the Muhammadans, Kālima is the second formula of the Muhammadan faith, and Kandiri is said to be a feast observed by them.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 உ ஸுவஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ சாலிவாகனசகாத்தம் ௲௬-
2 ௬௰௭ன்மெல்ச் செல்லாநின்ற கொல்லம்[2] ௯௱௨௰-
3 ஷு ௳ருதன ஷு சித்திரை ௴ ௧ தி சுக்குறவாரமும் பூ-
4 றுவபட்ஷத்துச் சத்தமியும் புணர்பூச நட்செத்திர-
5 மும் பெத்த சுபயொக சுபகறண சுபதினத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-
6 ௧௮ சகலகுண சம்பன்னரான மகாமெருசமான-
7 தீரான ராசமான்ய ராசஷ்த்திரி அசாத்து கிபிலெ ந-
8 வாபுசாயபு மகமது அன்வர்திகான் பாதர் குமாரர்
9 மாமது பாபூசுக்கானவர்கள் குருக்கள் அசரது மியா
10 இமாமு சாயபு அவர்கள் குமரர் மீயா செகு அம்மது கபீர்
11 அவர்களுக்கு அரிப்புத்துறைக்கு தாம்பிரசாதனம் எழு-
12 திக் குடுத்த பிறமாணமாவது [।*] அயதுராபாதுச சுபை-
13 யுடனெ செர்ந்த ஆற்காடு
14 திருசசிராப்பள்ளிச் ச-
15 மைஸ்த்தானத்தில் தெட்- A[3].
16 டிணராச்சியம் திருநெ-
17 ல்வெலியில் அரமனைக்க-
18 ரை வாசலுடனெ செ[ர்*]ந்த
19 அரிப்புத்துறைக் குத்தகை ஷு க்கு ரெகை ௲ எயிஅ
20 க்கு [தவணை] ௰௨ ஆக ௴ க்கு தவணைக்கு ௲ ௬ பணமும் வீ-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E.
2 The English equivalent of date is A. D. 1745, March 29, Friday.
3 The Hindustani portion marked A occurs here.

21 தம் உள்ள பணம் அசரது மியா செகு அம்மது க-
22 பீர் சாயபு அவர்களுக்கு யினுமாக விட்டுக்குடு-
23 த்துச் சறுவமானியமாகக் கட்டளையிட்ட-
24 படியினாலெ யிந்த அரிப்புத்துறையை
25 புத்திர பவுத்திர பாரம்பரியமாக ஆச்சந்திரா-
26 க்கம் B.[1]
27 கையாடி-
28 க்கொண்டு அனுபவிச்சுக் கொண்டு வருவார்-
29 களாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்படிக்கு யிப்பொது இரு-
30 க்கிற தொராதிபதியும் இனிமெல் வருகிறவர்-
31 களும் இந்தப்படிக்கு நடத்திவிச்சுக்கொண்-
32 டு வருவார்களாகவும் [।*] யிதுக்கு யாதாமொருவர்

Second side.

33 இந்து பிரம சத்திரிய [வைசிய]-
34 சூத்திர யிந்த நாலு வன்னத்திலு-
35 ள்பட்ட பெர் விகாதம் பண்ணினா-
36 ல் காசியில் கெங்கைக்கரையில்
37 பொல்லாத கொடூரமான பாவம் பண்-
38 ணின தோஷத்திலெ பொவார்களாக-
39 வும் [।*] முசலுமான் என்னப்பட்ட கவியா- C[1].
40 வுக்கு உள்பட்ட பெர் விகாதம பண்-
41 ணினால் மக்கத்திலெ பொல்லாத கொ-
42 டூரமான பாவம் பண்ணின தோஷத்தி-
43 லெ பொவார்களாகவும் [।*] இந்தத் தற்-
44 மகாரியம் பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவி-
45 ச்சு வந்தவர்களுக்கு முசலுமான் என்னப-
46 ட்டவர்களுக்கு மக்கத்திலெ ஆயிரம் அச்சுச் செ-
47 ய்த நன்மையும பெத்து ஆயிரம் கந்திரி செய்த நன்
48 மையும் பெறுவார்களாகவும் [।*] யிந்த தற்மத்திலெ
49 நாலு வன்னத்திலுள்பட்ட பெர் காசியிலெ கெங்-
50 கைக்கரையிலெ ஆயிரம் அசுவமெ[த*] யாகம் பண்-
51 ணின புண்ணியமும் பெத்து ஆயிரம் சஷ்டிற பொச-
52 சனம் பண்ணிவிச்ச புண்ணியமும பெறுவாராகவும்
53 யிப்படிக்கு யிந்த அரிப்புத்துறைக்கு தாமசாச-
54 தனம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தொம அசரத்து மியா இமாமு
55 சாயபு அவர்களுக்கு நவாபு மகம்மது மாபூக்கான் சாயபு அ-
56 வர்கள் [।*] இந்தச் சாதனம் எழுதினென திருநெல்-
57 வெலி நாடுக் கணக்கு கந்தசுவாமி உ-உ

Translation.

In the year 1666 (expired) of the Sālīvāhana-Śaka era, which was the cyclic year Krōdhana and Kollam 920, on Friday, the 1st day of the month of Chit'irai, which was one of saptamī(·*tithi*) of the first fortnight with Punarpūśam-(*nakshatra*)—on this day, in śubha-yōga and śubha-karaṇa, the following copper-

1 The Hindustani portions marked B and C occur here.

plate document relating to Aripputturai was engraved and granted to Hazarat Miyā Shēku Ahmad Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyā Imāmu-Sāhib, the *guru* of Muhammad Māfūz-Khān, the son of the illustrious Navāb-Sāhib, Muhammad Anavardi Khān-Bādar, who is endowed with all good qualities and who is like unto Mēru in his greatness.

We were pleased to bestow on Hazarat Miyā Shēku-Ahmad-Kabīr-Sāhib, as *iṉām*, the sum of 78 *rēkhai-pōṉ* per year, or in 12 instalments at the rate of 6 *rēkhai-pōṉ* and 5 *paṇam* per instalment each month, which was derivable from the Aripputturai lease in Aramaṉaikkarai-vāśal which is in Tinnevelly, the southern dominion in the Arcot-Tirichirāpaḷḷi-samasthāṉam of the *subah* of Hyderabad; and we have declared it to be *sarvamānya*. This Aripputturai shall be enjoyed in the lineal succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and the sun endure. The ruler who is now governing, and those who may come hereafter, shall have this gift conducted accordingly.

If any Hindu included in the four castes (*vaṇṇa*) of *brahma*, *kshatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*, should cause obstruction to this (gift), he shall incur the sin of having committed some terrible crimes on the banks of the Ganges at Kāśi. If any one of the Mussalman sect under the Kalimā[1] obstruct (it similarly), he shall incur the sin of having committed heinous crimes at Mecca.

Of those who protect this deed of gift, a Mussalman shall obtain the merit of having performed a thousand *achchu*[1] at Mecca and of having performed a thousand *kandiri*[1]; and to him of the four castes shall accrue the merit of having performed a thousand *aśvamēdha* sacrifices on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, and of having fed a thousand (brahmans), a thousand times.

Thus did we, Navāb Muhammad Māfūz-Khān write the copper-plate charter relating to Aripputturai to Hazarat Miyā Imām-Sāhib[2].

I, Kandasvāmi, the accountant of Tinnevēli-nāḍu wrote this document.

Texts of the Hindustani portions.

A

Mutdsaddiyāni ḥāl wa istaqbāli. Ta 'lluqa Tirnāopallī
bidānand ki har māh shash ch*akra*
panjah falm (?) *maḥsūli arbkāranast darobast ḥasbu' l-*
ḥukm mablaghi mazkūr dar kh*idmati Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr*
nand (?) *maqarrar numūda* sh*ud: Bāyad ki maḥsuli*
*mastūr māh bemāh bamu*sh*ārun ilaih mī rasānīda*
*bā*sh*and: Ki an ra muma-ilaih sarfi wajha ma 'ī*sh*at*
*karda badu 'āi daulati abad muddat ma*sh*ghul ba*sh*and.*

---

1 *Kalimā*, *Achchu* and *Kandiri* are Hindustani terms.

2 Apparently Imām-Sāhib, the recipient of the gift in Śaka 1660 from Queen Mīnākshi was living in Śaka 1666, when his son Aḥmad-Kabīr was granted the income on some lands by Māfūz-Khān.

A. This Hindustani portion has been engraved in the space against the lines 13-8 of the first side of the plate.

B. Do. ll. 26-7 of the first side.

C. Do. ll. 33-45 of the second side.

Batārīkh shashum *shahri Rabī 'u'l-awwal*
sann 1158 Ḥijrī taḥrīr yāft.
Parwana Nawāb Muḥammad Muḥfūz Khān *Sāḥib wa Qibla*
*madda Zillahu 'l-'lī. Dast*khaṭi Khaṣṣ.

B

Dar kh*idmati Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr maḥsūli arbkāran* shash
ch*akra panjā falm* (or *qalam*) *nazr numūda* sh*ud*
az gh*urrah Rabī 'u 'l-awwal sann 1158 Ḥijrī:*
*Dast*khaṭi Khāṣṣ.

C

Sh*arḥ dast*khaṭi kh*aṣṣ Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz* Khān
Sāḥib Qibla madda zillāhu 'l-ālī: dar Kh*idmati Miyān*
Aḥmad Kabīr maḥsūli arbkarān shash ch*akra panjah falm*
nazr numūda sh*ud:*
As Gh*urrah Rabī'u'l-awwal 1158 H.*
*Nawi*sh*ta Ḥākimu 'u'l-wagt Muḥammad Anwar* Khān *dāma iqbalahu.*

A

The present and future officials of the Ta'lluqa of Tirunaopalli should know that every month the entire sum of six *chakra*, and five *paṇam* on account of the revenue collected from the tenants, which under (royal) orders has been assigned to Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr Naud (or Shāh) be paid to him regularly (lit. from month to month), so that the aforesaid (Aḥmad Kabīr) maintain himself by the above endowment and pray for the everlasting prosperity of the State.

Written on the 6th of Rabī 'I, 1158 H. (1745 A. D). Parwana issued by Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib Qibla, may God lengthen his high shadow (*i. e.* may he long remain the protector of people)!

B

For the service of Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr, the revenues amounting to 6 *chakra* and five *paṇam* are assigned.

First of Rabī, 1158 H. (1745 A. D). Special (Royal) signature.

C

Special signature of Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz *Khān* Sāhib *madda zillahu ,l-'ālī.*

The revenue due from *Arbkāran*[1] (or Arripputtuṛai — in the Tamil portion) amounting to six *chakras*, and five *paṇam* is assigned for the service of Miyān Aḥmad Kabīr, with effect from the 1st of Rabī 'I 1158 H. (1745 A. D.)

Written by the Governor of the time, Muḥammad Anwar Khān, may his glory ever last!

---

1 Note by Mr. Yazdani—"The terms *Arbkāran, Chakra* and *Pañja-Qalam* (or *falm*) are not quite clear to me. Arbkarān (as far as I can guess) may mean tenants or cultivators." This term *Arbkarān* is found transcribed in the Tamil portion as Aripputtuṛai-*kuttakai*, revenue which was granted as *inām* to the Muhammadan Fakīr. As for *chakra*, it is the *rēkhai-poṉ* and the *pañja-falm* is five *paṇam* (a *paṇam* is $\frac{1}{10}$th of a *rēkhai-poṉ*) of the Tamil portion.

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(**Prepared by Mr. K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri**)

Pandit Assistant.

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1 Figures refer to pages; and 'n' after a figure to foot notes. The following other abbreviations are used:—

ch = chief; cha = channel; co = country; di = district or division; do = ditto; dy = dynasty; f = female; k = king; m = male; mo = mountain; pl = place; ri = river; s. a. = same as; sur = surname; te = temple; vi = village or town.

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APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Śaka 1691, Kollam 945, Virōdhin, Arpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirāḍam śu. 7: =A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5; f.d.t. ·03; ·43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturn in Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7: =A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3;·76; (Rēvati ·86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kanni, Simha 9; Details not enough for verification; but the English date may correspond to A. D. 1102, August 4, Monday; ba. 4·16; 27·54.
56	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 7, Thursday, Rōhiṇī, śu. tritīyā: =A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day *tritīyā* commenced at ·95 and Rōhiṇī was current till ·29 only. 'Iḍavam 7 *śenna*' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Iḍavam 8.
57	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ēkādaśī: =A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f.d.t. ·09; ·76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Iḍavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mistake.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makaram, Mēḍam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī: =A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the *tithi* and *nakshatra* were respectively ba. 10 ·90; and 23·63.
86	Kollam 864, Mārgaḷi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13: =A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the *tithi* and *nakshatra* were in 7·44 and U. Bhad. 65; but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the *tithi* was śu. 13·88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from ·33 of day.

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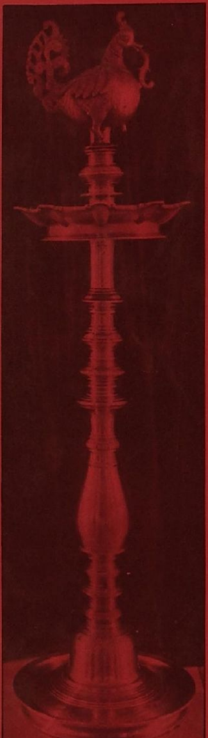

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